

Ex. # 420

Doc. No. 219P (1)

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BR. EX. 17

MEMORANDUM BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE
22 September 1931

(Washington,) September 22,
1931

I opened the conversation with the Japanese Ambassador by referring to our last talk on September 17th when we had both expressed our feeling that the relations of our two countries were in such a satisfactory condition. I said I had been profoundly surprised and concerned by what was taking place in Manchuria and that I had sent Dr. Hornbeck to see the Ambassador on Saturday and now as the matter had developed I wished to see him myself. He said yes, that he had seen Dr. Hornbeck and he had told him of how surprised he (the Ambassador) had been and how concerned he was and how impossible it was for him to understand the causes of what had taken place.

I explained that as he well knew, I had the utmost confidence in Baron Shidehara and his desire for peace and correct international relations. I told him that I had learned from Dr. Hornbeck's report of what Debuchi had said Sunday--that there was a sharp cleavage between Shidehara and some of the militaristic elements of his government. He said that that was so. I said that what I was now doing was seeking to strengthen Baron Shidehara's hand and not to weaken it. The Ambassador said he understood that perfectly. I then took the memorandum which had been prepared (a copy of which is annexed) and read it very slowly to the Ambassador, paraphrasing the language into more simple words wherever it seemed at all necessary in order that he should fully understand it. He repeated many of the sentences, showing that he did understand. When I had finished I said that this was not to be taken as a formal note or an official action on the part of my government, but as the memorandum of a verbal statement given to the Ambassador for the purpose of enabling him to understand and report to his government how I, with my background of friendship towards Japan, felt towards this situation. I said that the Ambassador was at liberty to send it to Shidehara or not, as he saw fit. He said he understood perfectly and that the memorandum did not represent an official note but that if the situation was not remedied he understood that it might be followed by official action on our part later. He said he would communicate its contents to his government that evening.

I then told him that there was one thing however that I would like to ask of him and that was that he postpone his

departure for Japan until the situation was in better shape. I told him I felt confidence in him from our long relations together and that it would be easier to handle the situation if he was here. He expressed himself as very much touched by this and said that he was glad to be able to say that this morning he had, after having purchased his tickets and made all his plans, decided to postpone his departure and had told Madame Debuchi and his daughter to that effect, and had telegraphed out to the Japanese Consul in San Francisco to cancel the appointments he had made.

I spent quite a little time after reading the memorandum in pointing out what a serious impression it would make in this country if the situation of Manchuria is not restored to the status quo. He said he fully understood that and he had been surprised at the moderation of our American press thus far and attributed that to the care which I had taken in the press conferences. He begged me that if the time should ever come when I did wish to act officially in this matter I would first inform him. I said I would try to do so.

Henry L. Stimson

Foreign Relations I, pp. 527

Br. Ex. 17

國務長官備忘録 一九三二年九月二十二日

(華盛頓) 一九三二年九月二十二日

余ハ日本大使ト九月十七日ノ最後ノ會談ニ關聯シ會談ヲ開始セリ。九月十七日ノ其會談ニ於テ我等兩人ハ我等兩國ノ關係ハ新クノ如ク満足スヘキ狀態ニアリトノ我々ノ願シテ互ヒニ語り合ヒタル次第ナリ。

余ハ滿洲ニ於テ起リタル事件ニ付非常ニ驚キ且憂慮シ居ル事、土曜日ニ大使ニ會見スル爲メニホウソベック博士ヲ遣シタル事、今ヤ事態進展シタルヲ以テ余自身大使ト會見ヲ希望シタルコト等ヲ語レリ大使ハ然リト答ヘ彼ハホウソベック博士ト會見シタル事及ビ彼ガ如何ニ驚キ且憂慮シ居ルカ又惹起サレタル事件ノ原因ヲ了解スルコトガ如何ニ至難ナルカラ同博士ニ語りタル旨ヲ述べタリ。

余ハ彼モ熟知シ居リシ通り菅原男及ビ平和及公正ナル國際關係ニ對スル彼ノ欲求ニ最大ノ信頼ヲ置キ居リシモノナルコトヲ述べタリ。

余ハホウソベック博士ノ報告ニヨリ出淵氏が日軍ニ語リシコト即チ菅原ト彼レノ政府部内ニ於ケル軍國主義的分子トノ間ニ信ギ難ガ存スルコトヲ知リタル旨彼ニ語りタリ。彼ハソノ通りテリト言ヘリ。

余ハ余ガ今爲シツ、アルコトハ菅原男ノ腕ヲ補強シ

Ex 920

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且ツコレヲ弱メザルコトヲ求ムルコトナルヲ彼ニ語
リタリ。大使ハヨク此ヲ了解シタル旨ヲ語レリ。

余ハ準備シアリシ備忘録（其意ヲ添附ス）ヲトリ大
使ガ完全ニ理解スル爲メニ必要ナリト考慮サル、信
所ヲ簡單ナル言葉ニテ意譯シツ、大使ニ徐々ニ讀ミ
聞カセタリ。大使ハ其章句ノ多岐ヲ復唱シテ之ヲ了
解シタル旨ヲ示セリ。

余ノ讀ミ終リタルトキコレノ備忘録ハ我政府側ノ公式
文書若シクハ正式行動ト解釋スヘカラスシテ、余ノ
日本ニ對スル友誼ヲ背景トシテ現在ノ状態ヲ余ガ如
何ニ看テ居ルヤヲ大使ガ理解シ本國政府ニ報告スル
ヲ得セシムル目的ヲ以テ大使ニ與ヘラレタル口頭ノ
申入レ覺悟ナリト解釋スヘキモノナリト余ハ語レリ
余ハ大使ガ其選擇ニヨリ常任ニ報告スルヤ否ヤハ自
由ナリト語リタリ。大使ハ完全ニ理解シタル旨ヲ告
ゲ且ツ備忘録ハ公式文書ニハ非ザルニ狀態ノ改善サ
レザル場合ニハ進テ我政府側ニ於テ正式行動ヲ採ラ
ルヘキコトヲ了解シタル旨ヲ語レリ。彼ハ其夜本國政
府ニ其内容ヲ通報スヘキ旨、語レリ。

余ハ實際彼ニ一ノ依頼スヘキコトアルヲ告ゲタリ。
其ハ狀態ノ改善サルル迄ノ日本ヘノ出發ヲ延期スル
コトナリ。余ハ我々相互ノ長期間ノ交際ニヨリ余ガ
彼ニ信頼ヲ應ジ彼が我國ニ居ルテラバ此局面處理ヲ

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一層容易ナラシムベシト告ゲタリ。彼ハ此言ニ甚タ
感激セル旨語リ且ツ今朝切符ヲ買取メ總テノ計畫ヲ
ナシタルモ出發ヲ延期スルコトニ決定シ出淵夫人及
彼ノ娘ニ之ヲ語リ、サンフランシスコ、ノ日本領事
ニ彼ガ既ニ打合セ済ナリシ種々ナル取遣メノ取消方
ニ付記載シタルコトヲ余ニ告グルヲ得ルヲ喜ブ旨語
レリ。

余ハ憶忘錄ノ讀了後、小時間、蒲洲ノ狀勢ガ從來ノ
狀態ニ復歸セサル場合之ガ米國內ニ於テ如何ニ重大
ナル印象ヲ與フヘキカラ指摘シタリ。彼ハ悉ク此ヲ
了解シタル旨ヲ語リタリ。而シテ彼ハ米國新聞ガ只
今迄ノ所採リ居レル懸念ナル態度ニ驚キ、此ノ事實
ハ余ガ新聞會見ニ於テ深リ來タレル注意ニヨルモノ
ナリト語レリ。

此事件ニ關シ余ガ公式ニ行動スルコトヲ欲スル時期
ノ萬一到來シタル場合ハ余ガ最初ニ之ヲ彼ニ告グル
コトヲ彼ハ余ニ懇請セリ。余ハ斯ク計ラフベキ旨ヲ
告ゲタリ。

ヘンリ・エル・ステムソン

外交關係第一冊第五一七頁

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Page 1

BR. EX. 18

MEMORANDUM BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE
TO THE JAPANESE AMBASSADOR -- 22 SEPTEMBER 1931

Excerpt.

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MEMORANDUM

Without going into the background, either as to the immediate provocation or remote causes or motivation, it appears that there has developed within the past four days a situation in Manchuria which I find surprising and view with concern. Japanese military forces, with some opposition at some points by Chinese military forces, have occupied the principal strategic points in South Manchuria, including the principal administrative center, together with some at least of the public utilities. It appears that the highest Chinese authority ordered the Chinese military not to resist, and that, when news of the situation reached Tokyo, but after most of the acts of occupation had been consummated, the Japanese Government ordered cessation of military activities on the part of the Japanese forces. Nevertheless, it appears some military movements have been continuously and are even now in process. The actual situation is that an arm of the Japanese Government is in complete control of South Manchuria.

The League of Nations has given evidence of its concern. The Chinese Government has in various ways invoked action on the part of foreign governments, citing its reliance upon treaty obligations and inviting special reference to the Kellogg Pact.

This situation is of concern, morally, legally and politically to a considerable number of nations. It is not exclusively a matter of concern to Japan and China. It brings into question at once the meaning of certain provisions of agreements, such as the Nine Powers Treaty of February 6, 1922, and the Kellogg-Briand Pact.

The American Government is confident that it has not been the intention of the Japanese Government to create or to be a party to the creation of a situation which brings the applicability of treaty provisions into consideration. The American Government does not wish to be hasty in formulating its conclusions or in taking a position. However, the American Government feels that a very unfortunate situation exists, which no doubt is embarrassing to the Japanese Government. It would seem

that the responsibility for determining the course of events with regard to the liquidating of this situation rests largely upon Japan, for the simple reason that Japanese armed forces have seized and are exercising de facto control in South Manchuria.

It is alleged by the Chinese, and the allegation has the support of circumstantial evidence, that lines of communication outward from Manchuria, have been cut or interfered with. If this is true, it is unfortunate.

It is the hope of the American Government that the orders which it understands have been given both by the Japanese and the Chinese Governments to their military forces to refrain from hostilities and further movements will be respected and that there will be no further application of force. It is also the hope of the American Government that the Japanese and the Chinese Governments will find it possible speedily to demonstrate to the world that neither has any intention to take advantage, in furtherance of its own peculiar interests, of the situation which has been brought about in connection with and in consequence of this use of force.

What has occurred has already shaken the confidence of the public with regard to the stability of conditions in Manchuria, and it is believed that the crystallizing of a situation suggesting the necessity for an indefinite continuance of military occupation would further undermine that confidence.

Foreign Relations I, pp. 5 at 7-8

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Br. Ex. 18

國務長官ノ日本大使ニ對スル覺書

一九三二年九月二十二日

敬 奉

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覺 書

根底ニ迄サカノボラナクトモ、直接ノ挑發デア
レ、又ハ違イ原因又ハ動機ニ關シテデアレ、過去
四日間ノ中ニ余カ驚キ且ツ懸念ヲ以テ目スル事態
ガ南滿洲ニ發生シタ如ク見ラレル。日本軍隊ハ、或
ル地點ニ於イテハ支那軍ノ反撃ヲ受ケタガ、少ク
トモ公共事業ノ幾ツカノ中心地ト共ニ、主ナル行
政ノ中心地ヲ含ム南滿洲ニ於ケル主ナル戰略的地
點ヲ占領シタノデアル。最高支那當局ハ、支那軍
ニ抵抗スルナトノ命令ヲ發シタ様ニ思ヘレソシテ情勢ノ
報ガ東京ニ達シタ時ニ、大部分ノ占領行為ガ完成
シタ後デアアツタガ、日本政府ハ日本軍隊側ニ於
ケル戦闘行為ノ中止ヲ命ジタト見受ケラレル。
併シナカラ或ル軍事行動ハ繼續的ニ、ソシテ今デ
モ行ハレツ、アル如クニ見エル。眞實ノ情勢ハ、日
本政府ノ勢力ガ南滿洲ヲ完全ニ統御シテキルノデ
アル。

國際聯盟ハソノ懸念ノ證據ヲ示シタ。支那政府

219P(2)--2

ハ、ソノ條約義務ノ信賴ヲ述べ、又、ケロツグ協約ニ對スル特別ノ參照ヲ望ムダリ、積々ノ方法デ外國政府側ニ於ケル行動ヲ乞フタノデアアル。

此ノ情勢ハ、大多數ノ國家ニ取ツテ、道德的ニ、法律的ニ、政治的ニ不安ヲ與ヘル。夫レハ、日本及ビ支那ニ取ツテノミノ不安^{不安}事^事デアアルノデハナイ。夫レハ大正十一年（一九二二年）二月六日ノ九箇國條約及ビケロツグブリアンド協定ノ如キ條約ノ或條款ノ意味ニ就イテ直チニ疑問ヲモタラスモノデアアル。

アメリカ政府ハ、條約ノ條款ノ適用ヲ考慮セシムル情勢ヲ生ミ出ス、又ハ生ミ出ス一國トナラントスルハ日本政府ノ意圖ニアラザリシコトヲ信賴スル。

アメリカ政府ハソノ結論ヲ述べ又ハ或ル態度ヲ輕卒ニ取ルコトヲ欲セス。併レドモ、日本政府ニ取リテ疑モナク當惑ヲ感ゼシムル、非常ニ不幸ナル事態ガ存ストアメリカ政府ハ感シテキル。此ノ情勢ヲ清算スルニ關スル事柄ノ進行ヲ決定スル責任ハ、大部分日本ニ存シテキルト思ハレル、ト云フノハ、日本軍隊ガ占領シ且南滿洲ニ於ケル事實上ノ支配ヲ實行シツ、アルト云フ簡單ナ理由カラ

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デアル。

滿洲カラ外ヘノ通信ガ絶タレ、又ハ妨害サレテ
キルト支那人ニ依ツテ主張サレテ居リ、又ソノ主
張ハ、情況ニ依ル證據ノ支ヘラ有シテキル。若シ
モ之レガ本當ナラバ、ソレハ不幸デアル。

アメリカ政府ノ諒解スル敵對行爲及ビコレ以上
ノ行動ヲ避ケヨトノ日本政府及ビ支那政府兩方ニ
ヨリテソノ軍隊ニ與ヘラレタル、命令ガ尊重サレ、
且コレ以上ノ武力行使ナキコトラアメリカ政府ハ
望ンデキル。日本及ビ支那政府ガ、各々自ラ特別
ノ利益ヲ促進セントシ、此ノ武力行使ニ關係シテ、
或ハ結果トシテ生ジタル情勢ヲ利用セントスル何
等ノ意圖モ兩者共ニ有セザルヲ世界ニ向ツテ速カ
ニ示スヲ、可能ナリト認ムルヤウニトハ、亦アメ
リカ政府ノ望ム所デアル。

今迄ニ起ツタ事ハ、滿洲ノ狀勢ノ安定ニ關スル
一般ノ確信ヲ既ニ弱メテキル、ソシテ、軍事占領
ヲ無限ニ繼續セシムル必要ヲ指唆スル情勢ノ固定
化ハ、更ニソノ確信ノ基ヲ危カラシムルデアラウ
ト信ゼラレテキル。

BR. EX. 19

TELEGRAM
THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE CHARGE IN JAPAN
(NEVILLE)

Washington, September 24, 1931--
4 p.m.

167. Please deliver to the Minister for Foreign Affairs immediately as a note, the identical text of which will be communicated by the American Minister to China to the Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs, the following:

"The Government and people of the United States have observed with regret and with great concern events of the past few days in Manchuria. In view of the sincere desire of the people of this country that principles and methods of peace shall prevail in international relations, and of the existence of treaties, to several of which the United States is a party, the provisions of which are intended to regulate the adjustment of controversies between nations without resort to use of force, the American Government feels warranted in expressing to the Chinese and the Japanese Governments its hope that they will cause their military forces to refrain from any further hostilities will so dispose respectively of their armed forces as to satisfy the requirements of international law and international agreements, and will refrain from activities which may prejudice the attainment by amicable methods of an adjustment of their differences."

STIMSON

Foreign Relations I, p. 9

Br. Ex. 19

電 報

國務長官ヨリ駐日代理公使（ネヴィール）宛
ワシントン、昭和六年（一九三一年）九月二十四日午後四時

219P(3)

一六七、駐米公使ヨリ支那外交部長ニ通報サレル
ベキ下記原文ト同様ノモノヲ「地書」トシテ外務大
臣ニ直チニ手交セラレタシ、
「アメリカ合衆國政府及ビ國民ハ滿洲ニ於ケル過去
數日ノ事件ヲ遺憾ノ念ト多大ノ關心トラ以テ注視シ
ツ、アリ。平和ノ原則ト手段トラ國際關係ニ普及セ
シメントスル吾國民ノ眞摯ナル希望及ビ合衆國ガソ
ノ加盟國ノ一員デアリ且ソノ條款ガ武力行使ニ訴ヘルコ
トナク國家間ノ紛争ノ調製ヲハカルコトラ目的トス
ル諸條約ノ存在ニ鑑ミアメリカ政府ハ支那及ビ日本
政府ニ對シ兩政府ハ兩重險ヲシテ之以上敵對行動ヲ
止メシメ、國際法ト國際協定ノ要求ヲ満足セシムル
如ク相互ニ武装軍隊ヲ處理シ且友交手段ニヨル兩者
ノ紛争調製ノ達成ヲ誓フオソレアル諸行動ニ抑制ス
ルデアラウトイフ希望ヲ通ベルコトラ至當ト感ズル
モノデアアル。

Stimson
ステイムソン

外事關係一、九頁

ex 922

Doc. No. 219P (5)

BR. EX. 21

THE JAPANESE EMBASSY TO THE DEPARTMENT
OF STATE

STATEMENT ISSUED AFTER EXTRAORDINARY CABINET MEETING
SEPTEMBER 24, 1931

Excerpt.

(5) It may be superfluous to repeat that the Japanese
Government harbors no territorial designs in Manchuria.

Foreign Relations I, p. 11 at
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FILE COPY
RETURN TO ROOM 361

6X923

外事関係 十二ノ頁十一

明スル通モナキ所ナリ。

(五) 日本政府ハ滿洲ニ於テ領土領土の野心無キ事ハ反覆言

明セテラレタル聲明ノ後幸。

一九三二年ノ昭和六年ノ九月二十日臨時閣議ノ後

日本大使館ヨリ國務省へ

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Ex. 924

Doc. No. 219P (6)

BR. EX. 22

NOTE FROM JAPANESE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN
AFFAIRS TO THE UNITED STATES EMBASSY IN
JAPAN -- 28 SEPTEMBER 1931

Excerpts.

.....

The Japanese Government is deeply sensible of the friendly concern and the fairness of views with which the American Government has observed the recent course of events in Manchuria. . . . Every care has been, and will continue to be, exercised by the Japanese forces to observe all the requirements of international law and international agreements, and to avoid any action that is calculated to prejudice an amicable settlement of the differences between Japan and China.

.....

NEVILLE

Foreign Relations I, p. 13

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B-Ex-22

日本外務大臣ヨリ日本駐米大使館ヘノ一九三一年ノ昭和六年ノ九月二十八日附書簡拔萃

日本政府ハ最近ノ滿洲ニ於ケル事態ノ経過ニ關シ米國政府ガ示セル友好的關心ト公平ナル見解ヲ深ク感化シ居ル所ナリ。・・・・日本軍隊ハ國際法ト國際協定ニ依ル總ベテノ要求ヲ遵守スルタメ竝ニ日本、中國間ノ紛争ノ友好的解決ヲ阻害スルモノト看ラルル凡テノ行動ヲ避クルタメ從來有ラユル措置ヲ講ジ來タレルモノニシテ今後モ之ヲ續行セントスルモノナリ。

「ネビル」人名ナランモ不明

外事關係一ノ十三頁

Br. Ex. 23

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE COUNCIL OF THE
LEAGUE OF NATIONS ON SEPTEMBER 30, 1931

Excerpts.

The Council,

1. Notes the replies of the Chinese and Japanese Governments to the urgent appeal addressed to them by its President and the steps that have already been taken in response to that appeal;

2. Recognizes the importance of the Japanese Government's statement that it has no territorial designs in Manchuria;

3. Notes the Japanese representative's statement that his Government will continue, as rapidly as possible, the withdrawal of its troops, which has already been begun, into the railway zone in proportion as the safety of the lives and property of Japanese nationals is effectively assured and that it hopes to carry out this intention in full as speedily as may be.

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5. Being convinced that both Governments are anxious to avoid taking any action which might disturb the peace and good understanding between the two nations, notes that the Chinese and Japanese representatives have given assurances that their respective Governments will take all necessary steps to prevent any extension of the scope of the incident or any aggravation of the situation;

6. Requests both parties to do all in their power to hasten the restoration of normal relations between them and for that purpose to continue and speedily complete the execution of the above-mentioned undertakings;

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Foreign Relations I, pp. 13-14

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Br. Ex. 23

二一九P(七)

一九三二年(昭和六年)九月三十日國際聯盟
理事會ニヨリ採擇セラレタル決議

按 奉

理事會ハ

一 議長ニヨリ支那及ビ日本政府ニ對シ發セラレタル
緊急要請ニ對スル兩國政府ノ同答及ビ該要請ニ應
ジ既ニ採ラレタル措置ヲ了承ス。

二 日本ガ滿洲ニ於テ領土的野心無キ旨ノ日本政府駐
關ノ重要性ヲ確認ス。

三 日本國代表ガ、日本政府ハ可及的速カニ既ニ開始
セラレタル製造附屬地ヘノ軍隊ノ撤退ヲ日本國人
ノ生命並ニ財產ガ效果的ニ確保セラルル度合ニ準
ジ續行スベク且ツ此ノ意圖ヲ全面的ニ可及的速カ
ニ遂行センコトヲ望ム旨陳述シタルコトヲ了承ス

。。。。。。

四 兩國政府ガ兩國家臣ノ平和及ビ友好的了解ヲ妨グ
ル如何ナル行動ヲモ避クル熱意アルコトヲ確信シ
中華民國並ニ日本國代表ガ、自國政府ガ孰レモ事
變ノ範圍ノ擴大或ハ事態ノ重大化ヲ避クル凡ユル
必要ナル措置ヲ採ラントスル事ニ付保障ヲ與ヘタ
ルコトヲ了承ス。

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六 双方當事者ニ達シ、總てニ兩者間ノ正常關係ヲ回復
セシム爲メ全力ヲ盡スベキコト、並ニ此ノ目的ノ爲メ上
述セル企圖ノ履行ヲ促ケ、速ニ之ヲ完成セシムコト
ヲ希望ス。

。。。。。。

對外關係第一冊 一三頁—一四頁

Doc. No. 2192 (8)

Page 1

Br. Ex. 24

TELEGRAM
THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE CONSUL
AT GENEVA (GILBERT)

(Paraphrase)

Washington, October 9, 1931-6 p.m.

.....

"On its part the American Government acting independently through its diplomatic representatives will endeavor to reinforce what the League does and will make clear that it has a keen interest in the matter and is not oblivious to the obligations which the disputants have assumed to their fellow signatories in the Pact of Paris as well as in the Nine Power Pact should a time arise when it would seem advisable to bring forward those obligations. By this course we avoid any danger of embarrassing the League in the course to which it is now committed."

STILLON

Foreign Relations I, pp. 17-18

Er 926

Br. 24

「電報」

GILBERT

駐米公使館ヨリ ジュネーブ駐在領事 (ギルバート) へ

(前 出)

一九三一年十月九日午後六時

(ワシントン)

.....

219P(8)

カカル部ヲ持出スノガ、果シテ思ハレル機ナキ場合
 ガ起ラバ、外使代表ヲ總領事館ノ立替ニ於テ活動シ
 ツアル米國政府ハ聯盟ノ爲ス所ヲ補強スルニ努力
 シ且、該事項ニ多大ノ關心アル事ヲ明カニシ、且當
 該領事館ガバリー保護、及び九ヶ國條約ニ於テ他諸
 國ニ對シテ貢フテイル義務ヲ看過セザルツモリデ
 アル。此ノ方針ニ依リ吾々ハ聯盟ガ現在衰カサレテ
 居ル方面ニ於テ聯盟ヲ國威サセルガ如キ危險ハ有ル
 テサケルノデアアル。

スチムソン

STIMSON

外交信第一冊 第十七、十八頁

Doc. No. 219P (9)

Page 1

Br. Ex. 25

RESOLUTION VOTED UPON BY THE COUNCIL OF THE
LEAGUE OF NATIONS ON OCTOBER 24, 1931

The Council,

In pursuance of the resolution passed on September
30th:

Noting that in addition to the invocation by the
Government of China, of Article 11 of the Covenant *of the League of Nations*,
Article 2 of the Pact of Paris has also been invoked
by a number of the Governments:

(1) Recalls the undertakings given to the Council
by the Governments of China and Japan in that resolution,
and in particular the statement of the Japanese repre-
sentative that the Japanese Government would continue
as rapidly as possible the withdrawal of its troops into
the railway zone in proportion as the safety of the lives
and property of Japanese nationals is effectively assured,
and the statement of the Chinese representative that his
Government will assume the responsibility for the safety
of the lives and property of Japanese nationals outside
that zone--a pledge which implies the effective protection
of Japanese subjects residing in Manchuria;

(2) Recalls further that both Governments have
given the assurance that they would refrain from any
measures which might aggravate the existing situation,
and are therefore bound not to resort to any aggressive
policy or action and to take measures to suppress hostile
agitation;

(3) Recalls the Japanese statement that Japan has
no territorial designs in Manchuria, and notes that this
statement is in accordance with the terms of the Covenant
of the League of Nations, and of the Nine-Power Treaty,
the signatories of which are pledged to respect the
sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and
administrative integrity of China;

(4) Being convinced that the fulfillment of these
assurances and undertakings is essential for the restora-
tion of normal relations between the two parties:

(a) Calls upon the Japanese Government to
begin immediately and to proceed progressively
with the withdrawal of its troops into the railway
zone, so that the total withdrawal may be effected
before the date fixed for the next meeting of the
Council:

(b) Calls upon the Chinese Government, in execution of its general pledge to assume the responsibility for the safety of the lives and property of all Japanese subjects resident in Manchuria, to make such arrangements for taking over the territory thus evacuated as will ensure the safety of the lives and property of Japanese subjects there, and requests the Chinese Government to associate with the Chinese authorities designated for the above purpose, representatives of other Powers in order that such representatives may follow the execution of the arrangements;

(5) Recommends that the Chinese and Japanese Governments should immediately appoint representatives to arrange the details of the execution of all points relating to the evacuation and the taking over of the evacuated territory so that they may proceed smoothly and without delay;

(6) Recommends the Chinese and Japanese Governments, as soon as the evacuation is completed, to begin direct negotiations on questions outstanding between them, and in particular those arising out of recent incidents as well as those relating to existing difficulties due to the railway situation in Manchuria. For this purpose, the Council suggests that the two parties should set up a conciliation committee, or some such permanent machinery;

(7) Decides to adjourn till November 16th, at which date it will again examine the situation, but authorizes its President to convoke a meeting at any earlier date should it in his opinion be desirable.

BrEx.25

一九三一年／昭和六年／十月二十四日、國際聯盟理事會ノ投票ニ依ル決議

理事會ハ、

九月三十日可決ノ決議ヲ參照、支那政府ガ國際聯盟規約第一一條ノ適用ヲ懇請セシ外ニ、多數ノ政府ガ巴里條約第二條ノ適用ヲ懇請セシコトヲ了承シ

(一) コノ決議ノ中ニ日支兩國政府ガ理事會ニ與ヘタ約
定、特ニ日本政府ハ日本國民ノ生命及財産ノ安全
ガ有効ニ確保セラルルニ從ヒ、日本軍隊ヲ鐵道附
屬地内ニ撤退セシムル爲既ニ開始セラレタ軍隊ノ
撤退ヲ出來ル限り速ニ續行スベシトイフ日本代表
ノ聲明及支那政府ハ鐵道附屬地外ニ於ケル日本國
民ノ生命及財産ノ安全ニ對スル責任ヲ負フベキ旨
ノ支那代表ノ聲明ト即チ滿洲ニ居住セル日本臣民
ヲ有効ニ保護スルトイフ言質ヲ想起スル。

(二) 尙兩國政府ハ現状ヲ惡化セシムル虞アル、如何ナル
措置ヲモ避ケ從ツテ如何ナル侵略政策或ハ行爲
ニモ訴ヘルコトナク又敵意ヲ有スル擾亂ヲ抑制ス
ル措置ヲ取ル責任ヲ有ストイフ保證ヲ與ヘタコト
ヲ想起スル。

(三) 日本ガ滿洲ニ於テ何等領土的目的ヲ有セザル旨ノ

219P(9)-2

日本ノ聲明ヲ想起シ又此ノ聲明ハ國際聯盟規約及九國條約ノ條項ニ一致シ、コレ等ノ條約ノ調印國ハ支那ノ主權、獨立、領土保全及行政的保全ヲ尊重スルコトヲ誓約セルコトヲ了承スル。

(四) コレ等ノ保證及了解ヲ實現スルコトハ兩國間ノ關係ヲ平常ニ復セシムルニ須要ナルコトヲ納得シ、

(イ) 日本政府ハソノ軍隊ヲ鐵道附屬地ニ撤退セシムルコトヲ直チニ開始シ且續行シ理事會ノ次回ノ會合ニ指定サレタ期日以前ニ撤退ヲ完了スルコトヲ要請シ

(ロ) 支那政府ニハ流洲居住ノ全日本臣民ノ生命及財産ノ安全保證ノ責任ヲ取ルトイフ一般の誓約ヲ實行スル際ニ新様ニシテ明渡サレタ地域ヲ接收スルタメニ其處ニ居住スル日本臣民ノ生命財産ノ安全ヲ保證スル如キ手配ヲ爲スコトヲ要請シ又上記ノ目的ノタメニ任命サレタ支那當局ハ他ノ列強ノ代表者ト協同シソレ等ノ代表者ガコノ手配ノ實施ヲ監視スルヤウニスルコトヲ要求スル。

(五) 日支兩國政府ハ明渡及明渡サレタ地域ノ接收ニ關スル凡テノ點ノ實施細目ヲ取極メルタメニ直チニ代表者ヲ任命シ圓滑ニ且遲滯ナク進行セシムルヤ

219P(9)-3

ウ兩國政府ニ勸告スル。

(六) 日支兩國政府ハ明渡完了次第速ニ兩國間ニ懸案ニ
ナツテキル問題特ニ最近ノ事變ノタメニ起ツタ問
題竝ニ滿洲ニ於ケル鐵道事態ニ依ル現實ノ支障ニ
關スル問題ニ就テ直接交渉ヲ開始スルコトヲ勸告
スル。コノ目的ノタメニ理事會ハ兩當事國ガ和解
委員會又ハ何等カ斯様ナ恒久的機關ヲ設置スルコ
トヲ提起スル。

(七) 會合ヲ十一月十六日マデニ延期スルコトニ決定ス
ル、ソノ日ニハ事態ヲ再ビ檢討スルコトニスル、
然シ議長ノ意見ニシテ希望スルトアレバソレヨリ
モ早イ時期ニ會議ヲ召集スル權能ヲ議長ニ賦與ス
ル。

Doc. No. 219P (10)

Page 1

Br. Ex. 26

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE COUNCIL OF THE
LEAGUE OF NATIONS ON DECEMBER 10, 1931

Excerpts.

The Council.

(1) Reaffirms the resolution passed unanimously by it on September 30th, 1931, by which the two parties declare that they are solemnly bound: it therefore calls upon the Chinese and Japanese Governments to take all steps necessary to assure its execution, so that the withdrawal of the Japanese troops within the railway zone may be effected as speedily as possible under the conditions set forth in the said resolution;

.

Decides to appoint a Commission of five members to study on the spot and to report to the Council on any circumstance which, affecting international relations, threatens to disturb peace between China and Japan, or the good understanding between them, upon which peace depends;

.

Foreign Relations I, pp. 59-60

64928

B.S. 26

二一九P (一〇)

一九三一年（昭和六年）十二月十日臨時
委員會ニヨリ採擇サレタル決議

決議

理事會

219P(10)

(一) 一九三一年（昭和六年）九月三十日全會一致ヲ以
テ通過セル決議ヲ承認ス。此ノ決議ニヨリ兩當
事國ハ該國ニ右決議ヲ遵守スル義務ヲ負フ旨ヲ宣
言ス。該ニ中國及ビ日本兩政府ハ、右決議履行ヲ
確保スルニ必要ナル凡ユル手段ヲ執ルコトヲ要請
サレ、其ノ爲ニ日本軍ノ鐵道附屬地ヘノ撤退ハ該
決議ニ於テ決定セラレタル諸條項ニ差キ可及的
ニ實施スルヲ要ス。

× × ×

理事會ハ國際關係及ビ中日國ノ平和秩序ノ脅威
ハ平和ノ依ツテ悉ク兩國間ノ良キ理解ニ影響ヲ及
ボス凡ユル事情ヲ現地ニ於テ調査シ、之ヲ理事會
ニ報告セシムル爲メ該委員會五名ヨリ成ル委員ノ
任命ヲ決定ス。

外國關係第一編 五九頁一六〇頁

Doc. No. 219P (11)

Page 1

Br. Ex. 27

THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE MINISTER IN CHINA
(JOHNSON)Washington, December 11, 1931 -
11 a.m.

455. On December 10 the Secretary of State issued a statement to the press as follows:

"The Government of the United States is gratified at the unanimous adoption by the Council of the League of Nations of the Resolution of December 10. This represents a definite step of progress in a long and difficult negotiation which Mr. Briand and his associates have conducted with great patience.

The Council of the League of Nations was in session on September 18 when the present situation in Manchuria first developed. China at once appealed to the Council under Article 11 of the League Covenant. The Council took immediate cognizance of this appeal, and China and Japan participated in the discussions before it in accordance with their obligations as parties to the covenant. This Government has from the beginning endeavored to cooperate with and support these efforts of the Council by representations through the diplomatic channels to both Japan and China. Not only are the American people interested in the same objective sought by the League of preventing a disastrous war and securing a peaceful solution of the Manchurian controversy, but as a fellow signatory with Japan and China in the Kellogg-Briand Pact and in the so-called Nine-Power Treaty of February 6, 1922, this government has a direct interest in and obligation under the undertakings of those treaties.

The present Resolution provides for the immediate cessation of hostilities. It reaffirms the solemn pledge of Japan to withdraw her troops within the railway zone as speedily as possible. It provides for the appointment of a commission of five members to study on the spot and report to the Council on any circumstances which disturbs the peace or affects the good understandings between China and Japan. Such a provision for a neutral commission is in itself an important and

constructive step towards an ultimate and fair solution of the intricate problem presented in Manchuria. It means the application with the consent of both China and Japan of modern and enlightened methods of conciliation to the solution of this problem. The principle which underlies it exists in many treaties of conciliation to which the United States is a party and which have played in recent years a prominent part in the constructive peace machinery of the world. The operation of such a commission gives time for the heat of controversy to subside and makes possible a careful study of the underlying problem
...

These are the essential principles for which the United States and the nations represented on the Council have been striving and it is in itself a signal accomplishment that there has been arrayed behind these principles in a harmonious cooperation such a solid alignment of the nations of the world.

Foreign Relations I, pp. 60-61

2150-1

報

告

一九三一年乃至一九四五年ノ朝鮮ニ於
ケル兵營施設ノ増加ニ就イテ

滿洲占領時ノ朝鮮ノ日本軍除用ノ全兵營施設ハ
補強隊ヲ持ツ歩兵二箇師團ニ等シカツタ。兵舎並
ニ軍營部落ハ概シテ此ノ國ノ大都市ニ存シタ、即
チ京城、平壤、羅南、鎮海デアル。

日本ノ滿洲占領後ハ朝鮮ニ於テ大營施設ノ急速
ニ發展ガ始ツタ。而シテ兵舎並ニ軍營部落ハ概シ
テ北朝鮮ニ建テラレ、主トシテソブイエート社會
主義共和國聯邦ト境ヲ接スル地方ニ建テラレタ。

一九三一年乃至一九四一年朝鮮ニ於ケル兵營施
設ハ三倍以上ニモ増加サレ、七箇歩兵師團ヲ收容
スル事ガ可能デアツタ。ソノ中、北朝鮮ニ收容シ
得ルモノハ五箇師團デアツタ。

一九四一年乃至一九四五年日本人ハ朝鮮全域ニ
亙ツテ兵舎並ニ軍營部落ノ建設ヲ繼續シタ。此期
間ニ於テ朝鮮ノ兵營施設ノ收容能力ハ補強隊ヲ持
ツ十二箇歩兵師團ニ迄達シタ。

カクシテ朝鮮ニ於ケル、就中ソノ北部地方ニ於

2150-2

ケル軍事兵營ノ多數ノ建設ハ日本統帥本部ガ、朝鮮ヲソゾイエート沿海洲ニ侵入スル爲ノ根據地トナサント計畫シテキタ事ヲ證明スルモノデアル。

附録 1 地圖「一九三一年乃至一九三二年ノ朝鮮ニ於ケル兵營施設」

2 地圖「一九四一年乃至一九四二年ノ朝鮮ニ於ケル兵營施設」

3 地圖「一九四五年ノ朝鮮ニ於ケル兵營施設」

赤軍參謀本部總務部代理

陸軍大佐

(ツウイキテコ)

一九四六年一月三〇日

書類第二、一五〇號

證

2150--3
余平野英雄ハ余ガ露西亞語及ビ日本語ニ精通セ
ル者ナルコト並ニ露語原文及ビ日本語原文ヲ對照
ノ上右ハ本書類ヲ眞實ニ且正確ニ翻譯セルモノナ
ルヲ確證セルコトヲ茲ニ證ス

平 野 英 雄

(印)

Doc. No. 219P (4)

Br. Ex. 20

T E L E G R A M
THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE AMBASSADOR IN JAPAN
(FORBES)

Washington, January 7, 1932--noon.

7. Please deliver to the Foreign Office on behalf of your Government as soon as possible the following note:

"With the recent military operations about Chinchow, the last remaining administrative authority of the Government of the Chinese Republic in South Manchuria, as it existed prior to September 18th, 1931, has been destroyed. The American Government continues confident that the work of the neutral commission recently authorized by the Council of the League of Nations will facilitate an ultimate solution of the difficulties now existing between China and Japan. But in view of the present situation and of its own rights and obligations therein, the American Government deems it to be its duty to notify both the Imperial Japanese Government and the Government of the Chinese Republic that it cannot admit the legality of any situation de facto nor does it intend to recognize any treaty or agreement entered into between those Governments, or agents thereof, which may impair the treaty rights of the United States or its citizens in China, including those which relate to the sovereignty, the independence, or the territorial and administrative integrity of the Republic of China, or to the international policy relative to China, commonly known as the open door policy; and that it does not intend to recognize any situation, treaty or agreement which may be brought about by means contrary to the covenants and obligations of the Pact of Paris of August 27, 1928, to which Treaty both China and Japan, as well as the United States, are parties."

State that an identical note is being sent to the Chinese government.

STIMSON

Foreign Relations I, p. 76

64930

219P(4)-1

國務長官發駐日大使^(Forbes)フオーブス宛電報 1932.1.20

華盛頓一九三二年／昭和七年／一月七日正午發

七、次ノ要旨ヲ至急本政府ノ爲メ外務省ヘ傳達
被下度

「最近ノ錦洲附近ニ於ケル軍事行動ニヨリ一九
三一年（昭和六年）九月十八日以前ニ存在シタ
様ナ南滿洲ニ於ル中國政府ノ最後ノ殘存行政權
ハ消滅シタ。國際聯盟委員會ガ最近承認シタ中
立委員會ノ業務ハ現在日華間ニ存在スル困難ナ
ル問題ノ最後の解決ヲ容易ニスルモノナルコト
ヲ亞米利加政府ハ依然確信スル。併シ乍ラ現時
局並ニ夫ニ亂スル我國ノ權利及義務ニ鑑ガミ、
亞米利加政府ハ現在ノ事態ノ合法性ヲ容認出來
難ク又兩國政府又ハ其代理機關ノ間ニ締結サレ
タル條約若クハ協定ニシテ中國ノ主權、獨立、
若クハ領土的及行政的保全又ハ通常門戶開放政
策トシテ知ラル、中國ニ關スル國際政策ニ關係
アルモノヲ始メ、合衆國又ハ在中國合衆國民ノ
條約上ノ權利ヲ損フ恐アル條約若シクハ協定ヲ
承認スル意志ナキコト、並ニ中國、日本及ビ合
衆國カ加置スル一九二八年（昭和三年）八月二
十七日附巴里條約ノ約定並ニ義務ニ違背スル手

2-19P(4)-2

段ニ依リ贊ラサル、局西、條約若シクハ決定ヲ
承認スル意志ヲキコトラ併セテ日本帝國政府及
中國政府ニ通告スルコトラ義務ナリト見做ス。
同一覺書ヲ中國政府ニ發送中ナル事ヲ述ブレ度。

/Stimson /
スチムソン

外交關係第一冊 七十六頁

E#931

Doc. No. 219P (13)

Page 1

Br. Ex. 31

TELEGRAM
THE AMBASSADOR IN JAPAN (FORBES) TO THE
SECRETARY OF STATE

TOKYO, January 16, 1932--2 p.m.
(Received January 16--6:03 a.m.)

11. Department's telegram No. 7, January 7, noon.
I have just received the reply of the Japanese Government
which reads as follows:

.

"The Government of Japan were well aware that the Government of the United States could always be relied on to do everything in their power to support Japan's efforts to secure the full and complete fulfillment in every detail of the treaties of Washington and the Kellogg Treaty for the Outlawry of War. They are glad to receive this additional assurance of the fact.

As regards the question which Your Excellency specifically mentions of the policy of the so-called 'open door,' the Japanese Government, as has so often been stated, regard that policy as a cardinal feature of the politics of the Far East, and only regrets that its effectiveness is so seriously diminished by the unsettled conditions which prevail throughout China. Insofar as they can secure it, the policy of the open door will always be maintained in Manchuria, as in China proper.

.

While it need not be repeated that Japan entertains in Manchuria no territorial aims or ambitions, yet, as Your Excellency knows, the welfare and safety of Manchuria and its accessibility for general trade are matters of the deepest interest and of quite extraordinary importance to the Japanese people.

FORBES

Foreign Relations I, pp. 76-77

電 報

フオードス (Ford) 駐日大使ヨリ國務長官宛

昭和七年(一九三二年)一月十六日午後二時東京發

(一月十六日午前六時三分 受信)

十一、國務省電報第七號一月七日正午。余ハ只今次
ノ如キ日本政府カラノ回答ニ接セリ。

— — — — —

「日本政府ハ合衆國政府ガ必ズヤ常ニ、ワシントン
條約及戰爭拋棄ヲ主張スルケロツグ條約ノ各細目ニ
亘ツテ全的且完全ナル遂行ヲ確保セントスル日本ノ
勢力ヲ支持スルタメニ全力ヲ盡シクレルモノナル事
ヲ能ク承知シ居レリ。日本政府ハ更ニコノ事實ニ關
シ保證ヲ得タコトラ喜ブモノデアアル。」

閣下ガ特ニ言及セラレ居ル所謂「門戶解放」政策
ニ關シテハ、日本政府ハ、屢次述べラレ居ル如ク、
該政策ヲ極真政策ノ主要特性ト見做シ居リ、且ツ全
文ニミナギル狀勢不安ニヨリソノ效果ノ著シク減殺
サレ居ルコトラ只管遺憾トシテイル。日本政府ガ其
ヲ確保シ得ル限リニ於テ門戶解放政策ハ文郡本部ニ

219P(131)-2

於ケルト同様管ニ滿洲ニ於テモ維持サレルデアラウ。

— — — — —

日本ハ滿洲ニ於テ何等ノ領土的意圖モ野心ヲモ有
セザルコトハ言ラ重ナル要ナキモ、閣下御承知ノ如
ク滿洲ノ福祉ト安全及一般通商ノ圓滑ハ日本國民ニ
トリ最大ノ關心事デアリ且極メテ重大ナ問題デアル。

フォーブス (Forbes)

外事關係一七六頁一七七頁

Doc. No. 219P (14)

Page 1

Br. Ex. 32

TELEGRAM
THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE CONSUL GENERAL
AT SHANGHAI (CUNNINGHAM)

Washington, February 24, 1932 - 2 p.m.

50. For the Minister. Reference your February 9, 9 a.m., from Nanking, paragraph 2, and Nanking's 14, January 24, 4 p.m., paragraph 5, and Shanghai's 72, February 18, 6 p.m., paragraph 5.

1. There is now being released to the press here the text of a letter from the Secretary of State to Senator Borah, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate.

You should communicate to the Foreign Office and make available to the press, at once, the text, as follows:

"You have asked my opinion whether, as has been sometimes recently suggested, present conditions in China have in any way indicated that the so-called Nine Power Treaty has become inapplicable or ineffective or rightly in need of modification, and if so, what I considered should be the policy of this Government.

This Treaty, as you of course know, forms the legal basis upon which now rests the 'Open Door' policy towards China. That policy, enunciated by John Hay in 1899, brought to an end the struggle among various powers for so-called spheres of interest in China which was threatening the dismemberment of that empire. To accomplish this Mr. Hay invoked two principles (1) equality of commercial opportunity among all nations in dealing with China, and (2) as necessary to that equality the preservation of China's territorial and administrative integrity. These principles were not new in the foreign policy of America. They had been the principles upon which it rested in its dealings with other nations for many years. In the case of China they were invoked to save a situation which not only threatened the future development and sovereignty of that great Asiatic people, but also threatened to create dangerous and constantly increasing rivalries between the other nations of the world. War had

already taken ~~take~~ place between Japan and China. At the close of that war three other nations intervened to prevent Japan from obtaining some of the results of that war claimed by her. Other nations sought and had obtained spheres of interest. Partly as a result of these actions a serious uprising had broken out in China which endangered the legations of all of the powers at Peking. While the attack on those legations was in progress, Mr. Hay made an announcement in respect to this policy as the principle upon which the powers should act in the settlement of the rebellion. He said

'The policy of the Government of the United States is to seek a solution which may bring about permanent safety and peace to China, preserve Chinese territorial and administrative entity, protect all rights guaranteed to friendly powers by treaty and international law, and safeguard for the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese Empire.'

He was successful in obtaining the assent of the other powers to the policy thus announced.

In taking these steps Mr. Hay acted with the cordial support of the British Government. In responding to Mr. Hay's announcement, above set forth, Lord Salisbury, the British Prime Minister expressed himself 'most emphatically as concurring in the policy of the United States.'

For twenty years thereafter the Open Door policy rested upon the informal commitments thus made by the various powers. But in the winter of 1921 to 1922, at a conference participated in by all of the principal powers which had interests in the Pacific, the policy was crystalized into the so-called Nine Power Treaty, which gave definition and precision to the principles upon which the policy rested. In the first article of that Treaty, the contracting powers, other than China, agreed

1. To respect the sovereignty, the independence and the territorial and administrative integrity of China.

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2. To provide the fullest and most unembarrassed opportunity to China to develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable government.

3. To use their influence for the purpose of effectually establishing and maintaining the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations throughout the territory of China.

4. To refrain from taking advantage of conditions in China in order to seek special rights or privileges which would abridge the rights of subjects or citizens of friendly states, and from countenancing action inimical to the security of such states.

This Treaty thus represents a carefully developed and matured international policy intended, on the one hand, to assure to all of the contracting parties their rights and interests in and with regard to China, and on the other hand, to assure to the people of China the fullest opportunity to develop without molestation their sovereignty and independence according to the modern and enlightened standards believed to maintain among the peoples of this earth. At the time this Treaty was signed, it was known that China was engaged in an attempt to develop the free institutions of a self-governing republic after her recent revolution from an autocratic form of government; that she would require many years of both economic and political effort to that end; and that her progress would necessarily be slow. The Treaty was thus a covenant of self-denial among the signatory powers in deliberate renunciation of any policy of aggression which might tend to interfere with that development. It was believed--and the whole history of the development of the 'Open Door' policy reveals that faith--that only by such a process, under the protection of such an agreement, could the fullest interests not only of China but of all nations which have intercourse with her best be served.

In its report to the President announcing this Treaty, the American Delegation, headed by the then Secretary of State, Mr. Charles E. Hughes, said

'It is believed that through this Treaty the 'Open Door' in China has at last been made a fact.'

During the course of the discussions which resulted in the Treaty, the Chairman of the British delegation, Lord Balfour, had stated that

'The British Empire delegation understood that there was no representative of any power around the table who thought that the old practice of "spheres of interest" was either advocated by any government or would be tolerable to this conference. So far as the British Government was concerned, they had, in the most formal manner, publicly announced that they regarded this practice as utterly inappropriate to the existing situation.'

At the same time the representative of Japan, Baron Shidahara, announced the position of his government as follows:

'No one denies to China her sacred right to govern herself. No one stands in the way of China to work out her own great national destiny.'

The Treaty was originally executed by the United States, Belgium, the British Empire, China, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands and Portugal. Subsequently it was also executed by Norway, Bolivia, Sweden, Denmark and Mexico. Germany has signed it but her Parliament has not yet ratified it.

It must be remembered also that this Treaty was one of several treaties and agreements entered into at the Washington Conference by the various powers concerned, all of which were interrelated and interdependent. No one of these treaties can be disregarded without disturbing the general understanding and equilibrium which were intended to be accomplished and effected by the group of agreements arrived at in their entirety. The Washington Conference was essentially a disarmament conference, aimed to promote the possibility of peace in the world not only through the cessation of competition in naval armament but also by the solution of various other disturbing problems which threatened the peace of the world, particularly in the Far East. These

problems were all interrelated. The willingness of the American government to surrender its then commanding lead in battleship construction and to leave its positions at Guam and in the Philippines without further fortification, was predicated upon, among other things, the self-denying covenants contained in the Nine Power Treaty, which assured the nations of the world not only of equal opportunity for their Eastern trade but also against the military aggrandizement of any other power at the expense of China. One cannot discuss the possibility of modifying or abrogating those provisions of the Nine Power Treaty without considering at the same time the other promises upon which they were really dependent.

Six years later the policy of self-denial against aggression by a stronger against a weaker power, upon which the Nine-Power Treaty had been based, received a powerful reinforcement by the execution by substantially all the nations of the world of the Pact of Paris, the so-called Kellogg-Briand Pact. These two treaties represent independent but harmonious steps taken for the purpose of aligning the conscience and public opinion of the world in favor of a system of orderly development by the law of nations including the settlement of all controversies by methods of justice and peace instead of by arbitrary force. The program for the protection of China from outside aggression is an essential part of any such development. The signatories and adherents of the Nine Power Treaty rightly felt that the orderly and peaceful development of the 400,000,000 of people inhabiting China was necessary to the peaceful welfare of the entire world and that no program for the welfare of the world as a whole could afford to neglect the welfare and protection of China.

The recent events which have taken place in China, especially the hostilities which have been begun in Manchuria have latterly been extended to Shanghai, far from indicating the advisability of any modification of the treaties we have been discussing, have tended to bring home the vital importance of the faithful observance of the

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covenants therein to all of the nations interested in the Far East. It is not necessary in that connection to inquire into the causes of the controversy or attempt to apportion the blame between the two nations which are unhappily involved: for regardless of cause or responsibility, it is clear beyond peradventure that a situation has developed which cannot, under any circumstances, be reconciled with the obligations of the covenants of these two treaties, and that if the treaties had been faithfully observed such a situation could not have arisen. The signatories of the Nine Power Treaty and of the Kellogg-Briand Pact who are not parties to that conflict are not likely to see any reason for modifying the terms of those treaties. To them the real value of the faithful performance of the treaties has been brought sharply home by the perils and losses to which their nationals have been subjected in Shanghai.

That is the view of this Government. We see no reason for abandoning the enlightened principles which are embodied in these treaties. We believe that this situation would have been avoided had these covenants been faithfully observed, and no evidence has come to us to indicate that a due compliance with them would have interfered with the adequate protection of the legitimate rights in China of the signatories of those treaties and their nationals.

On January 7th last, upon the instruction of the President, this Government formally notified Japan and China that it would not recognize any situation, treaty or agreement entered into by these governments in violation of the covenants of these treaties, which affected the rights of our Government or its citizens in China. If a similar decision should be reached and a similar position taken by the other governments of the world, a caveat will be placed upon such action which, we believe, will effectively bar the legality hereafter of any title or right sought to be obtained by pressure or treaty violation, and which, as has been shown by history in the past, will eventually lead to the restoration to China of rights and titles of which she may have been deprived.

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In the past our Government, as one of the leading powers on the Pacific Ocean, has rested its policy upon an abiding faith in the future of the people of China and upon the ultimate success in dealing with them of the principles of fair play, patience, and mutual goodwill. We appreciate the immensity of the task which lies before her statesmen in the development of her country and its government. The delays in her progress, the instability of her attempts to secure a responsible government, were foreseen by Messrs. Hay and Hughes and their contemporaries and were the very obstacles which the policy of the Open Door was designed to meet. We concur with those statesmen, representing all the nations in the Washington Conference who decided that China was entitled to the time necessary to accomplish her development. We are prepared to make that our policy for the future.

Very sincerely yours, (Signed) Henry L. Stimson"

2. Repeat the whole of the above in clear at once to Tokyo.

STIMSON

Foreign Relations I, pp. 83-87

Ex 932

二一九P (一西)

國務長官ヨリ駐上海總領事(カンニンガム)ヘノ電文

一九三二年(昭和七年)二月二十四日午後二時

ワシントンニ於テ

五〇。公使宛。二月九日午前九時南京ヨリ貴官發電報第二節、南京一四號一月二十四日午後四時發電報第五節、及ビ上海七二號二月十八日午後六時發電報第五節参照ノコト、

一唯今當地新聞ニ對シ、國務長官ヨリ上院外交委員長上院議員ボラ一宛書翰ノ正文ガ公表セラレントシツ、アリ。

貴官ハ外務省ニ連絡シ直ニ以下述ブル正文ヲ新聞用ニ供セラルベシ。

一貴官ハ、最近復同指示ヲ受ケタル所ナルガ、中華民國ニ於ケル現状ハ、所謂九ヶ國條約ノ適用不能狀態ニアリヤ、或ハ無效狀態ニアリヤ、或ハ直ニ修正ヲ必要トスル狀態ニアリヤ、又其ノ何レカノ狀態ナル時、余ノ思考スル所ガ、本政府ノ政策タリヤ否ヤニ付余ノ意見ヲ徴シタリ。

勿論貴官ノ知レル如ク、本條約ハ現在中華民國ニ對スル一門戶開放ノ政策ノ法律的根據ヲ爲スモノナリ。一八九九年(明治三十二年)一シヨシ。

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RETURN TO ROOM

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二一九P (一四)

國務長官ヨリ在土海總領事(カンニンガム)ヘノ電文

一九三二年(昭和七年)二月二十四日午後二時

ワシントンニ於テ

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一唯今當地新聞ニ對シ、國務長官ヨリ上院外交委員長上院議員ボラ一宛書翰ノ正文ガ公表セラレントシツ、アリ。

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ヘイラーニヨリ宣言セラレタル該政策ハ、中華民國ヲ分割セントスルガ如キ、列強ノ中國ニ於ケル所請勢力圖ノ紛争ヲ終息セシメタリ。之ヲ完全ニセシ爲、ヘイラー氏ハ次ノ二原則ヲ提唱セリ。(一) 中華民國トノ取引ニ當リ、全テノ國民間ニ於ケル商業上ノ機會均等及ビ(二) 該機會均等ニ必要ナル中華民國ノ領土及ビ行政ノ保全ノ維持。該原則ハアメリカノ對外政策ニ於テハ斬新ノモノニ非ズ。該原則ハ多年諸國民トノ取引ニ際シテ、ソノ根本原則トナシ來リタルモノナリ。中華民國ノ場合ニ於テハ、該原則ハ、彼ノ偉大ナルアジア國民ノ將來ノ發展ト主權トラ脅威スルノミナラズ、世界ノ他國民トノ間ニ危險且不斷ニ紛争ヲ増大セシメントスルガ如キ、狀勢ヲモ救済センガ爲ニ提唱セラレタルナリ。戦争ハ既ニ日本及ビ中華民國間ニ發生セリ。該戦争ノ終期ニ當リ他ノ三國民ハ日本ガ要求セル戦争ノ結果ノ一部ヲ獲得スルコトヲ妨害セン爲干涉セリ。他ノ國民ハ要求シタル結果勢力圖ヲ獲得シタリ。一部ハ是等行動ノ結果トシテ熾烈ナル暴動、中華民國內ニ勃發シ北京ニ於ケル列強ノ全公使館ヲ危殆ニ頻セシメタリ。此ノ公使館攻撃ノ行ハレツ、アル間ニ、ヘイラー氏ハ列強ガ反亂鎮壓ニ當リ行動スベキ原則トシテ該政策ニ關スル聲明ヲ發シタリ。彼曰ク、

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一、合衆國政府ノ政策ハ、中華民國ニ恒久的安全ト
平和トヲ齎シ、中華民國ノ領土的行政的實體ヲ保
持シ、條約ト國際法トニ依リ友好列強ニ保障セラ
レタル全テノ權利ヲ保護シ、更ニ世界ノ爲、中華
民國ノ全領域ニ於テノ平等公平ナル通商ノ原則ヲ
擁護セントスルニ在リ。ト。

彼ハ斯ク聲明セル政策ニ對シテ他ノ列強ノ同意ヲ得
ルコトニ成功シタリ。

斯カル措置ヲ採レル際、ヘイル氏ハ英國政府ノ懇
篤ナル支持ヲ受ケ行動セリ。上述セルヘイル氏ノ
聲明ニ呼應シテ英國首相「サリスベリ」卿ハ自ラ最
モ熱心ニ合衆國ノ政策ニ同意ヲ表スル旨ヲ述べタリ。

其ノ後二十年間門戶開放政策ハ斯ク多數列強ニヨ
リ爲サレタル非公式言質ニ基キテ行ハレ來リタリ。
然レドモ一九二一年（大正十年）ノ冬ヨリ、一九二二
年（大正十一年）ニ亘リテ、太平洋ニ利害關係アル
主要列強全部ノ參加セル會議ニ於テ該政策ハ所謂九
ヶ國條約ト云フ具體的ノモノトナリ、且同條約ハ該
政策ノ基礎タルベキ原則ヲ明瞭且正確ナラシメタリ。
該條約ノ第一條ニ於テ中華民國ヲ除ク締約列強ハ次
ノ如ク意見ノ一致ヲ見タリ。

一、中華民國ノ主權、獨立及ビ領土的行政的安全ヲ尊
重スルコト。

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二 中華民國ガ實力アリ且安定セル政府ヲ發達セシメ且維持セン爲、同國ニ對シ完全且妨グルコト無キ機會ヲ與フルコト。

三 中華民國全領土ニ亙リ各國々民ノ商業上産業上ノ機會均等ノ原則ヲ有效ニ設定シ且維持センガ爲ニ各國ハ盡カスルコト。

四 友好諸國ノ臣民又ハ國民ノ權利ヲ奪フガ如キ特殊權益ヲ得ンガ爲中華民國ニ於ケル諸種ノ狀況ヲ利用スルコトヲ禁ジ、且該諸國ノ安全性ニ有害ナル行爲ノ獎勵ヲ禁ズルコト。

ヲ協定セリ。

解 多 岐 注 意 深 多 發展且成育セラレタル國際政策ヲ表明スル本條約ハ、一方ニ於テハ全締約者ニ對シ中華民國内及ビ同國ニ對スル權益ヲ保障センコトヲ意圖スルト同時ニ他方ニ於テハ、中華民國ノ國民ニ對シ、同國民ガ地球上ノ諸國民間ニ維持セラルルト信ゼラルル近代文明ノ標準ニ從ヒ、干涉ヲ受クルコトナク、彼等ノ主權ト獨立トヲ發展セシムベキ完全ナル機會ヲ保障センコトヲ意圖シタリ。該條約ノ署名セラレタル當時、中華民國ハ、其ノ政府ノ專制形態ヨリ最近ノ革命從成立シタル獨裁的形態ノ政府ヲ排シ、自治共和國トシテノ自由制度ヲ發達セシムル意圖ヲ有シタルコト、及ビ同國ハ右目的達成ノ

219P(14)-5

爲經濟上並ニ政治上多年ノ努力ヲ必要トスベキコト、
並ニ同國ノ發展ハ必然的ニ遍々タルベキコト等ハ了
解済タリシナリ。

斯クノ如クナレバ本條約ハ署名各國ニ於テ、慎重
ニ考慮シ中國ノ發達ヲ妨グルガ如キ侵略政策ヲ拋棄
スルニ於テハ若名列強國ノ自己否定ノ條約タルモノ
ナリ。而シテ斯カル協定ノ擁護ノ下ニ斯カル過程ヲ
經テノミ、中華民國ノ完全ナル利益ノミナラズ、之
ト交渉ヲ有スル諸國家國民ノ全利益ガ最大ニ與ヘラ
レルモノト信ゼラレタリ。此ノ信念ハ「門戶開放」
政策ニ關スル全テノ歴史ノ明ラカニ證明スル所ナリ。

本條約ヲ大統領ニ報告セル報告書ニ於テ、時ノ國
務長官「チャールズ・イー・ヒューズ」氏ノ首席タ
リシアメリカ代表團ハ、

「本條約ニ依リ中華民國ニ於ケル「門戶開放」ハ
速ニ實現セラレタルモノト信ズ。」
ト述べタリ。

本條約ノ締結ニ導キタル討論ノ過程ニ於テ英國代
表團議長「バルフォア」卿ハ、

「英帝國代表團ハ、本會議ニ出席シタル列國代表
者中ニハ、「勢力國」ニ關スル過去ノ事例ヲ支持
スベキ政府アリト考フル者モ無ク、又本會議ニ對
シ何等カノ異議アリト考フル者モ無キモノト了解
ス。」

219P(14)-6

英國政府ノ如スル限リ我代表ハ最モ正式ナル方法
ヲ以テ公式ニ該慣例ハ現状ニ對シ全然不適當ナリ
ト思考スル旨宣言セリト
述ベタリ。

同時ニ日本國代表常原男爵ハ日本政府ノ地位ニ關
シ次ノ如ク述ベタリ。曰ク、

「何人モ中華民國ニ對シ其ノ神聖ナル自治ノ權利
ヲ否定スル者ナシ。何人モ中華民國ガ自己ノ偉大
ナル國民的運命ヲ完成セントスルニ當リ之ヲ妨害
スル者無シ。」ト。

本條約ハ元來含衆國、ベルギー、英帝國、中華民
國、フランス、イタリー、日本、ネザーランド及ビ
ポルトガルニヨリ作成セラレタリ。其ノ結果又ノー
ルウエー、ボリビア、スウェーデン、デンマーク及
ビメキシコモ之ニ參加シタリ。ドイツハ之ニ署名セ
ルモ、同國議會ハ未ダ之ニ批准セズ。

更ニ本條約ハ、ワシントン會議ニ於テ相互ニ關係
シ且相互ニ依存セル關係諸列強ニヨリ協定セラレタ
ル諸條約並ニ協定ノ一ナルコトハ言ヲ要セズ。又是
等ノ條約ノ一タリト雖モ之ヲ無視シタル時ハ、完全
無缺ナル一連ノ諸協定ニ依リ完成招來セントシタル
一體的了畢並ニ均衡ヲ障害スルニ至ルベシ。ワシン

219P(14)-7

ノ停止ニヨルノミナラズ世界ノ平和、殊ニ極東ノ平和ヲ脅威セル他ノ各種ノ錯雜セル問題ヲモ解決スルコトニヨリテ世界平和ノ可能性ヲ促進セント意圖セルナリ。是等諸問題ハ總テ互ニ關聯ヲ有ス。アメリカ政府ガ進ンデ當時ノ軍艦建造ノ統帥的指導權ヲ拋棄シ且ツグアム及ビフィリッピンニ於ケル陣地ヲ更ニ防備強化セズシテ放置セルハ、他ノ諸事項ト同時ニ、世界諸國民ニ極東貿易ニ對シテ機會均等ヲ與フルノミナラズ、他ノ如何ナル列強モ中華民國ノ犠牲ニ於テ軍備擴大ヲ行フコト無キヲ保証セル彼ノ九ヶ國ニ包含セラルル自己否定ノ條項ニ基ケルモノナリ。九ヶ國條約ノ該條項ヲ修正又ハ廢止シ得ルヤ否ヤヲ協議セントセバ、同時ニ是等ノ諸條項ガ事實上依存セル他ノ約定ヲ考慮セザルヲ得ズ。

九ヶ國條約ガソノ根本トセル、列強ニヨル弱小國侵略ヲ禁ズル自己否定ノ政策ハ六年後ニ、パリ一條約並ニ所謂一ヶロツグーブリアン一條約ヲ世界ノ全國民ガ實質的ニ履行シタル結果、強力ニ再強化セラレタリ。右兩條約ハ、世界ノ良心ト輿論トヲ一線ニ列ベンガ爲專斷的暴力ヲ排シ、正義ト平和トノ方法ニヨリ凡ユル紛争ノ解決ヲ包含スル諸國民ノ法ニ依リ秩序的發展ニ統一アル組織ヲ齎ラサンガ爲ニ採ラルル独立的ニシテ而モ調和的ナル措置ヲ表ハシ居ル

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ナリ。中華民国ヲ外部ヨリノ侵略ヨリ防衛セントスル計畫ハ其ナル發展ノ本質的部分ヲ愛ス。九ヶ國條約ノ七名國ト支那國トハ、中華民国ニ居住セル四億民衆ノ秩序アル平和的發展ハ、全世界ノ平和的幸福ノ爲ニ必要ナルコト、竝ニ全世界ノ平和ノ如何ナル計畫モ中華民国ノ平和ト反行トラ得ズルコト能ハザルコトヲ懸念スルナリ。

中華民国ニ遇レル最近ノ事件、殊ニ漢口ニ於テ開始セラレタル事等ハ最近上海ニ發大シ、吾々ノ「」説シ深リタル條約ニ何等カノ修正ヲ加フル援助言シ得ル限度ヲ越エタルモノニシテ、極東ニ利益關係ヲ有スル凡ユル國民ニ對シ、其ノ條約ヲ忠實ニ履行スルコトガ眞ニ重要ナルコトヲ認識セシムル結果トナリタリ。是ト述ビセシメテ、不審其ノ結果ニ參加シタル萬國民間ニソノ誤ラ相當テンガ爲、ソノ紛争或ハ計畫ノ原因ヲ探求スルコトハ不必要ナリ。何トナレバ、原因或ハ責任ニ關係ナク事變ハ、既に是等二條約ノ條項ニ規定セラレタル範圍ト妥協シ得ザルマデニ發展セルコト。竝ニ若シ該條約ニシテ忠實ニ遵守セラレタランニハ、其ナル事變ハ發生シ得ザリシナランコトハ疑ナク反シナレバナリ。該紛争ニ參加セザル九ヶ國條約及ビ一ヶロツグーブリアンニ條約ノ七名國ハ之等條約ノ條文ヲ修正スベキ何等ノ理由

ヲモヒメザルガ如シ。彼等ニトリテハ該條約ノ忠實ナル履行ガ眞ニ價值アルコトナルハ、彼等ノ國人ガ上流ニ於テ受ケタル危險ト損失トニヨリ一切ニ止シタルトコロナリ。

是レ本政府ノ見解ナリ。吾人ハ本條約ニ具現セラレタル文明的原則ヲ放棄スル理由ヲ思ヘズ。吾人ハ若シ是レ該條約ニシテ忠實ニ履行セラレタランニハ、本國ニハ過ク利益ヲ得シコト並ニ該條約ニ従スルコトガ、該條約ノ他各國並ニソノ國民ノ中華民國ニ於ケル合法的權利ノ妨害ナルベキ何レノ證據モ無キモノト信ズ。

昨年一月七日附大總統ノ敕書ニ於テ、本政府ハ日本及ビ中華民國ニ對シ、本政府ハ、是レ該條約ニ悖リタル日本政府ノ舉動、條約或ハ已定等ニシテ、中華民國ニ於ケル本政府並ニ我國民ノ中華民國内ニ有スル權利ニ影響ヲ與フルモノハ如何ナルモノト駁モ之ヲ是認スルコトヲ得ザル旨日本及ビ中華民國ニ通告セリ。若シ世界ノ他ノ政府ニシテ同様ノ決定ニ到達シ同他ノ立場ヲ採リタランニハ、上述ノ如キ行為ニ通告ヲ與フルコトニナルベク、且該條約ハ他國ニヨリ今迄獲得セラルル如何ナル名分或ハ權利ニ對スル正當性ヲモ效果的に對致シ且、過去ニ於ケル歴史ノ示セル如ク、自々中華民國ニ對シ其ノ專ハ

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レントセシ名分ト權利トラ回復スルニ至ルモノト信
ズ。

過去ニ於テ我ガ政府ハ太平洋ニ於ケル指導國ノ一
トシテ、政策ヲ中華民國ノ民衆ノ將來ニ對スル不變
ノ信義ニ基キ、又彼等ニ與シ公平、忍耐、及ビ相互
的好意ノ原則ノ究極的成就ニ置キタリ。吾人ハ國ヨ
リ民國及ビ民國政府ノ發展ニ與シ、同國ノ政治家ノ
前ニ横タハル任務ノ重大ナルコトヲ知ル。其ノ進歩
ノ遲延、責任政府維持ノ企圖ノ動搖ハ「ヘイ」「ヒ
ューズ」及ビ其ノ同時代ノ諸氏ニヨリ預見セラレ、
且ハ「門戸開放」政策ノ違ケ得ラレザリシ障礙タリ
シナリ。吾人ハ、中華民國ガ其ノ發展ヲ完成センニ
ハ必要ナル時ヲ持ツ權利アルコトヲ決議セルワシン
トン會議ニ列席シタル全國民代表タル政治家達ト意
見ヲ同ジクス。吾人ハ之ヲ以テ將來ニ對スル我國ノ
政策トナサントスルモノナリ。

長

(主名) ヘンリー・エル・スチムソン

ニ上通ノ全文ヲ曉諭ニシ直チニ東京へ繰返シ打替セヨ。

スチムソン

對外公報第一冊 八三一八七頁

Doc. No. 219P (12)

Page 1

Br. Ex. 30

TELEGRAM
THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE MINISTER IN
SWITZERLAND (WILSON)

Excerpt.

Washington, February 25, 1933--6 p.m.

78. Your 125, February 24, 7 p.m. Communicate to Drummond (Secretary General of the League) as a letter from me under today's date the following:

"There has been communicated to me the text of your letter of February 24, 1933, transmitting to me a copy of the report of the Committee of Nineteen as adopted by the Assembly of the League of Nations on this day.

I note your request that I communicate to you as soon as possible the reply of the Government of the United States.

In response to that request I have the honor to state the views of the American Government as follows:

In the situation which has developed out of the controversy between China and Japan, the purpose of the United States has coincided in general with that of the League of Nations, the common objective being maintenance of peace and settlement of international disputes by pacific means. In pursuance of that objective, while the League of Nations has been exercising jurisdiction over a controversy between two of its members, the Government of the United States has endeavored to give support, reserving to itself independence of judgment with regard to method and scope, to the efforts of the League on behalf of peace.

The findings of fact arrived at by the League and the understanding of the facts derived by the American Government from reports made to it by its own representatives are in substantial accord. In the light of its findings of fact, the Assembly of the League has formulated a measured statement of conclusions. With those conclusions the American Government is in general accord. In their affirmations respectively of the principle of non-recognition and their attitude in regard thereto the League and the United States are on common ground. The League has recommended principles of settlement. In so far as appropriate under the treaties to which it is a party, the American Government expresses its general endorsement of the principles thus recommended.

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STIMSON

Foreign Relations I, pp. 115-116.

電 文
Br. 30

WILSON

國務長官ヨリ駐米公使 ウィルソン氏へ

敬 奉

ワシントン ニテ

一九三三年（昭和八年）二月二十五日午後六時

七八二月二十四日午後七時發着第一二五號。

本日附ニテ小官發ノ電翰トシテ下記ノ如クドラモ
ンド氏 DRUMMOND （聯盟事務總長）宛通告

セラレ候

「國際聯盟總會ニヨリ採擇セラレタル十九ヶ國安
員會報告書一部ト共ニ一九三三年二月二十四日附
ノ電翰本日拜受仕候

合衆國政府ノ回答ラ可及的迅速ニ照察アリタキ旨
ノ御要請ハ小官ニ於テ了承仕候

右御要請ニ應ジ米國政府ノ見解ヲ左記ノ如ク御達
陳申上候

日支間ノ紛争ニヨリ展開セル局面ニ關シ合衆國
ノ企圖スル處ハ蓋チ國際聯盟ノ企圖ト合致ス。
即チ兩者共通ノ目標ハ平和ノ維持及ビ平和的手

219P(12)-1
4933

219P(12)-2

要ニ依ル國際間ノ紛争解決ニアリ。

此目的達成ノ爲メ國際聯盟ガ同會員タル兩國間ノ紛争ニ對シ制裁權ヲ行使スル一方法ニ於テ、合衆國政府ハ万法ト範圍ニ由シテ如何ノ制裁ヲ望ムスル連前ノ下ニ平和ノ爲メノ聯盟ノ努力ニ對シテ支援ヲ與フルニ當カナラザリシ所ナリ。

聯盟ガ目下ヤル諸事實ノ決定ト米國政府ガソノ代表者ノ報告ヲ通ジテ得タル諸事實ニ對スル認識トハ根本ニ於テ合致ス。

諸事實ニ對スル目カラノ決定ニ基キ聯盟總會ハ若干ノ結論ニツキ適正妥當ナル聲明書ヲ作製セリ。是等結論ト米國政府ハ前ホ見解ヲ一ツニス。不承認原則ノ肯定ト同原則ニ對スル態度ニ於テハ聯盟ト合衆國トハ共通ノ立場ニアリ。

聯盟ハ解決策ニ付若干ノ原則ヲ提議ヤリ。米國政府ハ締結國ノ一員タル諸條約ノ制約下妥當ナル限りニ於テ提議セラレタル右原則ニ對シ全面同意ヲ表明ス。」

.....

スチムソン STEPHENSON

(見事(1))

一一五 一一六 頁

Doc. No. 219P (15)

Br. Ex. 34 THE AMBASSADOR IN JAPAN (GREW) TO THE
SECRETARY OF STATE

No. 1052

TOKYO, November 14, 1934
(Received December 1.)

Excerpt.

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While it may be argued that the Japanese Government never specifically guaranteed the maintenance of the principles of the open door and equal opportunity in Manchuria after the government of "Manchukuo" was organized, the Japanese recognition and endorsement of the new regime was largely predicated upon the maintenance of those policies, as is evidenced by the speech of Count UCHIDA, then Minister for Foreign Affairs, before the Diet on August 25, 1932, and the Japanese Government's public statement of September 15, 1932, issued on the occasion of the recognition of "Manchukuo", which reads in part as follows:

"As regards the economic activities of foreigners, the Manchukuo Government made clear in their communication of March 10 above alluded to that they would observe the principle of the Open Door. What Japan desires in Manchuria is to do away with all anti-foreign policies there so that the region may become a safe place of abode for natives and foreigners alike, while, at the same time, guaranteeing her legitimate rights and interests there; and therefore, it is hardly necessary to repeat the assurance that Japan sincerely hopes that all the peoples of the world will pursue their economic activities in Manchuria on a footing of equal opportunity and will thereby contribute to the development and prosperity of that region."

The Protocol between Japan and "Manchukuo" of September 15, 1932, itself is predicated upon the observance by "Manchukuo" of international obligations applying to that territory, as is shown by the second paragraph of the preamble of the Protocol:

"Whereas Manchukuo has declared its intention of abiding by all international engagements entered into by China in so far as they are applicable to Manchukuo."

It is difficult to see how the Japanese Government can ignore these definite declarations, but that it has done so is not only shown by the excerpt quoted above, etc.

Foreign Relations I, p. 135 at
137.

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219P(15)---

B-Ex-34

連日大使（ドルー）／＼ＱＲ田／發國務長官宛

第一〇五二號 東京、一九三四年／昭和九年／十一月十四日
（十二月一日受領）

按 奉

.....

「滿洲國」政府成立後、日本政府ハ滿洲ニ於
ケル門戶解放及ビ機會均等ノ原則維持ヲ特ニ保
證セザリシ事實ハ一應主張シ得ル所ナルベキモ
日本ガ此ノ新政權ヲ承認セルハ概ネ之等原則ノ
維持ニ基ケル所ニシテ、此ノ點ハ一九三二年／
昭和七年／八月二十五日議會ニ於ケル當時ノ外
相内田伯ノ演説及ビ、一九三二年／昭和七年／
九月十五日、「滿洲國」承認ノ際發セラレタル
日本政府一般聲明ニ載スルモ略カナル處ナリ右
聲明ノ一節ハ次ノ如シ。

「外國人ノ經濟的活動ニ關シテハ滿洲國政府
ハ、既述三月十日附通牒ニ於テ、門戶解放ノ原
則ヲ遵奉スベキ旨ヲ諒カニセリ。
日本ノ滿洲國ニ於テ欲スル所ハ、同國ノ正當ナ
ル權益ヲ保證スルト同時ニ、總ユル排外政策ヲ

廢棄セシメ以テ同地域ヲシテ、内外人ノ齊シク安居樂業ノ地タラシメントスルニアリ。

右ノ故ニ世界ニ於ケル總ユル國民ガ滿洲ニ於テ機會均等ノ基礎ニ立脚シソノ經濟的活動ニ從事シ、以テ同地域ノ發展、繁榮ニ寄與セン事ヲ、日本ガ衷心ヨリ希望スル旨改メテ確言スルノ要無カルベシ。一九三二年ノ昭和七年ノ九月十五日附日本「滿洲國」間議定書ソレ自体、滿洲國ノ同地域ニ適用サレタル國際間ノ義務ノ遵守ニ基クモノタルコトハ右議定書前文第二段ニ示サル、通りナリ。即チ

「滿洲國ハ、中華民國ニ依リ締結セラレタル國際間ノ約定ハ總テ其ガ滿洲國ニ適用サル、限リ之ヲ遵守スル意志アル事ヲ宣言セルガ故ニ」トアリ。

日本政府ガ果シテ如何ニシテ之等確乎タル宣言ヲ無視シ得ルヤ理解スルハ困難ナリ、然カモ同政府ガ今日迄斯ク爲シ來レル事ハ希ニ上ニ引用セル敬孝ニ依リ明カナルノミナラズ、云々。

外交關係Ⅰ、一三五頁及一三七頁

Br. Lx. 41

UNOFFICIAL STATEMENT BY THE JAPANESE FOREIGN OFFICE,
April 17, 1934

The following is an English translation unofficially issued by the Japanese Foreign Office of the unofficial statement issued by the Foreign Office on April 17, 1934, known as the "Amanu Statement":

Owing to the special position of Japan in her relations with China, her views and attitude respecting matters that concern China, may not agree in every point with those of foreign nations; but it must be realized that Japan is called upon to exert the utmost effort in carrying out her mission and in fulfilling her special responsibilities in East Asia.

Japan has been compelled to withdraw from the League of Nations because of their failure to agree in their opinions on the fundamental principles of preserving peace in East Asia. Although Japan's attitude toward China may at times differ from that of foreign countries, such difference cannot be evaded, owing to Japan's position and mission.

It goes without saying that Japan at all times is endeavoring to maintain and promote her friendly relations with foreign nations, but at the same time we consider it only natural that, to keep peace and order in East Asia, we must even act alone on our own responsibility and it is our duty to perform it. At the same time, there is no country but China which is in a position to share with Japan the responsibility for the maintenance of peace in East Asia. Accordingly, unification of China, preservation of her territorial integrity, as well as restoration of order in that country, are most ardently desired by Japan. History shows that these can be attained through no other means than the awakening and the voluntary efforts of China herself. We oppose therefore any attempt on the part of China to avail herself of the influence of any other country in order to resist Japan. We also oppose any action taken by China, calculated to play one power against another. Any joint operations undertaken by foreign powers even in the name of technical or financial assistance at this particular moment after the Manchurian and Shanghai Incidents are bound to acquire political significance. Undertakings of such nature, if carried through to the end, must give rise to complications that might eventually necessitate discussion of problems like fixing spheres of influence or even international control or division of China, which would be the greatest possible misfortune for China and at the same time would have the most serious repercussion upon Japan and East Asia. Japan therefore must object to such undertakings as a matter of principle, although she will not find it necessary to interfere with any foreign country negotiating individually with China on questions of finance or trade, as long as such negotiations

Br. Ex. 41

benefit China and are not detrimental to the maintenance of peace in East Asia.

However, supplying China with war planes, building aerodromes in China and detailing military instructors or military advisers to China or contracting a loan to provide funds for political uses, would obviously tend to alienate the friendly relations between Japan and China and other countries and to disturb peace and order in East Asia. Japan will oppose such projects.

The foregoing attitude of Japan should be clear from the policies she has pursued in the past. But, on account of the fact that positive movements for joint action in China by foreign powers under one pretext or another are reported to be on foot, it is deemed not inappropriate to reiterate her policy at this time.

Foreign Relations I, pp. 224-225

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Doc 219P(22)

日本外務省、非公式聲明 一九三四年四月十七日
次、文、天羽聲明トシテ知ラシタルモノニテ一九三
四年四月十七日日本外務省ヨリ英セラレシ非公式
聲明、日本外務省ニ依リ非公式ニ英セラシタル
英譯文ナリ

支那ニ関スル日本、特殊ナル地位ニ依リ支那問
題ニ就テハ日本、見解及態度、凡ソル莫ニ於テ列國
ノト必ズモ一致セザルモノアルヤモ知レズ、然レ
ドモ日本、東亞ニ於テ其、使命、又特別ノ責ヲ
果スベク極力努カラ求メラレウアルコトハ認メ
ラルハヲ要ス

日本、東亞ニ於ケル平和維持、根本義ニ付
國際聯盟ト意見一致セザルアルヲ以テ國際聯
盟ヲ脱退スル、余儀ナキニ至リタリ

日本、對支態度ハ列國ノソレト屢々異ナリ所
アリ、天、如キ差異其、日本、地位及ビ使命ニ依リ
免レ得ザルモノナリ

日本、常ニ列國ト友好關係ヲ保持増進スベク
努メ居ルハ多ク要セズ。然レドモ同時ニ我々ハ
東亞ノ平和及秩序維持、爲我々自身ノ責
任ニ於テ單獨ニ行動スルハ當然ノコト、考ヘラル。
而シテ之ヲ遂行スルハ我々ノ責務ナリ。

同時ニ東亞ニ於ケル平和、維持ニ付日本ト共
ニ責ヲ分ク地位ニアリ、國ハ支那ヲオイテ他ニ
非ズ從フテ支那ノ統一、領土、保全及支那ニ於
ル秩序ノ恢復ハ日本、最モ切望スル所ナリ。

No 1

Doc 219P(22)

之等、達成、支那自身、自覺的並ニ自強努
力ニ待ツ他ナキハ、歴史ニ徴スルモ明ラカナリ、故ニ支
那ニシテ他國ノ勢力ヲ利用シ日本ヲ排斥スル
也キ舉ニ出ヅルハ吾人ノ反對スル所ナリ、
又支那ニシテ東ヲ以テ東ヲ制スベク劃スル如キ措
置ヲ反對スル所ナリ。滿洲事變、上海事變後
ハ、特殊時期ニ於テ列國側ニ於テナシ
共同動作ハ假令名目ハ技術的或ハ財政的
取ニアルニモ政治的意味ヲ帶フルニ至ルハ必然ナリ、
此、如キ性質ノ動作、遂行セシムルニ必ズ關係ヲ
報素、遂ニハ支那ニ於ケル執力ノ範圍ノ設定或
ハ國際管理ニハ分割等ノ問題、論議ヲ要セナ
シ支那ニトリテハ非ナリト下辛ヲ齎ラスノミナ
亦日本及東亞ニ對シテモ根本問題トシテ重大ナル
反響ヲ齎ラスモノナリ、サレバ日本ハ原則トシテ
カハル見解ヲナスベキデアルガ然リト雖モ各國ニ
支那ニ對シテ個別的ニ經濟、貿易問題、交渉ヲ
ナス也キハ此、如キ交渉、支那ヲ對シテ東亞、平
和ノ維持ニ支障ヲ及ボサル限リ之ニ干渉スル
必要ヲ認メズ。

No. 2

然レドモ支那ニ軍用飛行機ヲ供シ、飛行場ヲ
建設シ、軍事教官或ハ軍事顧問ヲ派遣シ
テ離間シ、東亞、平和及秩序維持ヲ乱ス關係
ヲ生ズルコト明ラナルヲ以テ日本ニ於テハ
之ニ反對スルモノナリ。

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前送、日本、態度ハ、針ヨリ演繹セラ
ルベキモノナリ。然レドモ諸外國、支那ニ對シ共動
作等ノ爲メ積極進出、形跡アルヲ報
ゼラル、以テ此、際日本、針ヲ再ニ此ニ
不適當ナラズト信ズルモノナリ。

外交関係 I
二二四頁—二二五頁

No 3

Mr. W. G. 12

TELEGRAM
THE AMBASSADOR IN JAPAN (GREW) TO THE SECRETARY
OF STATE

(Paraphrase)

Excerpt.

TOKYO, April 25, 1934 -- 1 p.m.
(Received April 25--9:55 a.m.)

75. This morning I had an interview with the Foreign Minister. Mr. Hirota referred, on his own initiative, to the subject of the Amau statement regarding the attitude of Japan toward foreign assistance to China, and said that he wished to clarify that statement to me in confidence. He told me that under questioning by newspaper men, Amau had given out the statement without his knowledge or approval, and that the world had received a wholly false impression of Japanese policy, that Japan had no intention whatever of seeking special privileges in China, of encroaching upon the territorial and administrative integrity of China, or of creating difficulties for the bona fide trade of other countries with China. Various foreign activities have tended to disturb peaceful conditions in China, and Japan is naturally very much interested in those peaceful conditions owing to her nearness to China. But that does not mean that there is any intention or desire on the part of Japan to claim a privileged position in derogation of the rights and responsibilities to which the signatories of the Nine-Power Treaty are entitled. The policy of Japan is complete observance and support of the provisions of the Nine-Power Treaty in every respect.

.....

Foreign Relations I, p. 227

日本駐劄北京(Gew)大使館國務長官宛電報

抄録

東京 一九三四年/昭和九年/四月二十五日午後一時宛(四月二十五日午前九時五十分受信)

七五、今朝本使、外務大臣ト會見セリ、廣田氏、自ラノ意見デ外國、中國援助ニ對スル日本ノ態度ニ関スル天羽聲明、問題ニ言及シ、ソノ聲明ヲ本使ニ内容ニ明カニシタキ旨申入レタ。

彼、天羽が新聞記者ノ質問ニ答ヘテ彼ニ通告モセズ又承認モ受ケナイデ聲明ヲ發表シ日本が中國ニ特殊ノ權益ヲ求メ、中國ノ領土的並ニ行政的保全ヲ侵害シ、若クハ中國ト他國トノ善意ノ貿易ニ對シ困難ヲ醸スガ如キ意志、全然無キ日本ノ政策ニ就テ世界ノ全面的ニ誤リヲ印象ヲ受ケタ、ダト本使ニ語リ、各國ノ活動ハ中國ニ於ケル平和狀態ヲ乱ス傾向アリ、而カモ日本ハ中國ニ近接シテ本ニ關係上ノ平和狀態ニハ当然多大ノ關心ヲ持ツテ在リ。乍然夫ハ九ヶ國條約調印國ガ附與サレタル權利義務ノ毀損ヲナス特權的地位ヲ主張スルコトヲ日本ガ意圖シ又ハ希望シニ本レトイフ意味ニナリ。日本政策ハ凡ソ點ニ於テ九ヶ國條約ノ條約ノ各項、完全ニ遵守スルヲ以テ

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MEMORANDUM BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE
(WASHINGTON) May 19, 1934.

The Japanese Ambassador called and promptly drew out an elaborate telegram which he said was from Foreign Minister Hirota in Tokyo to him. He first remarked that Hirota desired to extend his appreciation of the friendly spirit in which I sent the statement to him on April 28, 1934, and which was delivered by United States Ambassador Grew. He added that Ambassador Grew had stated to Minister Hirota at the time that the United States Government did not expect any reply. The Japanese Ambassador then proceeded practically to read the telegram, although appearing more or less to be speaking orally. He retained the telegram which was in his language. At its conclusion, I inquired if it was virtually a restatement of the statement during the latter part of April of his Government to Sir John Simon in the London Foreign Office. He replied that it was. I then stated that I had kept perfectly quiet while Japanese officials all the way from Tokyo to Geneva on April 17th, and for many days following, were reported as giving out to the press the views and policies of the Japanese Government touching certain international phases relating to the Orient; that at the conclusion of these different statements I felt, in order not to be misunderstood here or anywhere, that I should in a respectful and friendly spirit, offer a succinct but comprehensive restatement of rights, interests, and obligations as they related to my country primarily and as they related to all countries signatory to the Nine-Power Treaty, the Kellogg Pact, and international law as the same applied to the Orient.

I then inquired whether the Japanese Government differed with any of the fundamental phases of the statement I sent to the Japanese Foreign Minister on the 28th day of April, 1934? The Ambassador replied that it did not differ, that his Government did agree to the fundamentals of my note or statement, but that his Government did feel that it had a special interest in preserving peace and order in China. He then repeated the same formula that his government had been putting out for some weeks about the superior duty or function of his government to preserve peace and of its special interest in the peace situation in--to quote his words--"Eastern Asia". I remarked that, as Hirota

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wrote me, I saw no reason whatever why our two countries should not, in the most friendly and satisfactory way to each, solve every question or condition that existed now or that might arise in the future. I then said that, in my opinion, his country could conduct its affairs in such a way that it would live by itself during the coming generations, or that it might conduct its affairs even more profitably and at the same time retain the perfect understanding and the friendship of all civilized nations in particular that my hope and prayer was that all the civilized nations of the world, including Japan, should work together and in a perfectly friendly and understanding way so as to promote to the fullest extent the welfare of their respective peoples and at the same time meet their duties to civilization and to the more backward populations of the world and that my Government would always be ready and desirous of meeting his Government fully half-way in pursuing these latter objectives.

I then remarked that I would be entirely frank by saying that just now there was considerable inquiry everywhere as to just why his government singled out the clause or formula about Japan's claiming superior and special interests in the peace situation in "Eastern Asia" and her superior rights or duties in connection with the preservation of peace there; and that many were wondering whether this phrase or formula had ulterior or ultimate implications partaking of the nature of an overlordship of the Orient or a definite purpose to secure preferential trade rights as rapidly as possible in the Orient or "Eastern Asia"--to use the Japanese expression. The Ambassador commenced protesting that this was not the meaning contemplated or intended. I said it would be much simpler and easier if when the national of any other government engaged in some act in the Orient which Japan might reasonably feel would affect her unsatisfactorily, to bring up the individual circumstance to the proper government, instead of issuing a blanket formula which would cause nations everywhere to inquire or surmise whether it did not contemplate an overlordship of the Orient and an attempt at trade preferences as soon as possible. The Ambassador again said that this so-called formula about the superior interests of Japan in preserving peace, etc., did not contemplate the interference or domination or overlordship such as I had referred to.

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I stated that today there was universal talk and plans about armaments on a steadily increasing scale and that Japan and Germany were the two countries considered chiefly responsible for that talk: that, of course, if the world understood the absence of any overlordship intentions or other unwarranted interference by his government, as the Ambassador stated them to me, his country would not be the occasion for armament discussion in so many parts of the world; and that this illustrated what I had said at the beginning of our conversation that nations should make it a special point to understand each other, and the statesmen of each country should be ready at all times to correct or explain any trouble-making rumors or irresponsible or inaccurate statements calculated to breed distrust and misunderstanding and lukewarmness between nations. I went on to say that it was never so important for the few existing civilized countries of the world to work whole-heartedly together; and that this action of course would, more fully than any other, promote the welfare of the people of each and also would best preserve civilization. I emphasized again that it would be the height of folly for any of the civilized nations to pursue any line of utterances of professed policies that would engender a feeling of unfairness or treaty violation or other unsatisfactory reaction in the important nations who might have both rights and obligations in a given part of the world such as the Orient. I said that in this awful crisis through which the world was passing, debtors everywhere were not keeping faith with creditors in many instances; that sanctity of treaties, in Western Europe especially, was being ignored and violated; that this was peculiarly a time when our civilized countries should be especially vigilant to observe and preserve both legal and moral obligations: and that my country especially felt that way, not only on its own account but for the sake of preserving the better and the higher standards of both individual and national conduct everywhere.

I remarked that my Government, apart from its general treaty obligations, was only interested in the equality of trade rights in the Orient as in every part of the world and also its obligations and rights under the law of nations; that what little trade we had in the Orient we naturally desired to conduct on this basis of

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equality, even though it might be less in the future than now. Then I remarked that if these treaties which imposed special obligations on my government in the Orient were not in existence that, while interested in peace in all parts of the world, my government would also be interested in equality of trade rights.

I inquired whether his government had any disposition to denounce and get rid of these treaties in whole or in part, and said that to ignore or violate them would be embarrassing to my government, and that this would relieve it of any possibilities of such embarrassment. I said that I was not remotely suggesting in the matter. He replied that his government was not disposed to denounce and abrogate these treaties. He said that they felt obliged to get out of the League of Nations on account of certain considerations which their membership created. I then inquired of him whether his government abandoned membership on account of difficulties arising from the fact that Japan was a member of the League or whether it was due to Japan being a signatory to the Versailles Treaty. I did not get a complete answer to this.

The Ambassador then stated that in any preliminary naval conversations that might soon take place, his government would be opposed to discussing any Far Eastern political or similar questions or conditions and that only the purely naval side should be taken up. He said that political and all other phases of the subject were discussed at the Washington Conference and his government was opposed to a repetition of this. I offered no comment.

C(ORDELL) H(ULL)

Foreign Relations I, pp.233-236

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No 1

國務長官ノ手記

昭和九年(一九三四年)五月十九日(ワシントン)

日本大使ハ訪問スルヤ否ヤ丹念ニ綴ラシタル電報ヲ取出セリ。
大使ハ言ニヨリバ在東京廣田外務大臣ヨリ大使宛ニ送ラシ
モノナリ。大使ハ最初ニ廣田氏ハ昭和九年(一九三四年)二月
ニ十八日ニ余ガ氏ニ送り且ケル／＼G.M.E.大使ニヨツテ手交サ
レタル聲明中ノ友交精神ニ對シ彼ハ謝意ヲ傳達スル様
希望スル旨申述ベタリ。彼ハ又其時ケル／＼G.M.E.
大使ハ廣田外相ニ對シ合衆國ノ何等ノ回答ヲモ
豫期セヌト申述ベタル旨附加ヘタリ。次イデ日本大使
ハ事實ソノ電報ヲ讀上ゲタリ。幾分口頭ニミテ話カ
ルガ如キ態度ノ所モアリタリ。彼ガ手ニシ居リタル電
報ハ日本文ニテ認メテアリタリ。ソレノ終リニトキ余
ハソレハ事實上四月ノ後半ニワシントン外務省ノジヨシ
サイモン卿ヘ日本政府ノ聲明ノ再聲明ナラズト尋
ネニトコロ彼ハ然リト答ヘタリ
其時余ハ四月十七日及其後相當長時日ニ亘リ日本
官吏ハ東京ヨリミネアポへ途次ニ於テ東洋ニ關係セ
ル或國際問題ニ觸レ日本政府ノ見解及政策ニ関シ新聞
発表ヲ行ヒツアリト報道セラシトキ余ハ完全ニ沈黙ヲ
守リ居リシコト又此等種々ノ聲明ノ結果余ハ当地ニ
何レノ場所ニ於テモ誤解ヲ招カザランガタメ尊敬及友
交ノ精神ヲ以テ先ヅ吾國ニ關係ヲ有シ且九ヶ國條約
ケロッグ／＼KELLOGG條約調印國ノ總テニ關聯スル而
シテ東洋ニ適用サル場合國際法ニ關聯ヲ有スル諸權利

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No 2

權益、及義務ニ関シ、簡潔ニシテ、ニカモ包括的ナル再聲明ヲ発スベキナリト思フ旨、語リ。

次ニ余ハ日本政府ハ、昭和九年、一九三四年四月二十日?

余ガ日本外務大臣ニ送リシ聲明中、若干基本的局面、或ルモノニ関シ意見ヲ異ニスルヤヲ尋ネタリ。大使ハ之ニ就イテ日本政府ハ見解ヲ異ニスルモノニアラズ。又日本政府ハ余ノ謁見書或ハ聲明中、基本事項ニ関シハ見解ヲ同ジウスルモノニシテ、ニカモ政府ハ支那ニ於ケル平和ト秩序、維持ニ特別、関心ヲ有スルコトヲ感ジ居ル旨答ヘタリ。次ニ彼ハ平和維持上、日本政府ノ優越的任務或ハ使命ニ付更ニ——彼ノ言ヲ援用スルニ——「東亞」ニ於ケル平和状態ニ対スル日本政府、特別、関心ニツキ数週間ニ亘リ日本政府ガ聲明ニ来レル所ト同様、公式ヲ反復セリ。余ハ廣田氏ガ余ニ書送りシ如ク、吾々兩國ガ現存ニ在セル或ハ將來ニ起ルヤモ知シヌアラユル問題或ハ事態ヲ互ニ最も交友的且満足ナル方法ニテ解決シ能ハサル理由ハ何等存在セズト思フ旨、語リ。更ニ余ハ余ノ見解トシテハ貴國ハ来ルベキ幾時代カヲ通ジ自カニヨリ生活シ得ルガ如キ方法ニテ自己ノ諸問題ヲ処理シ得ベキ事否寧ロ日本ハ自己ノ問題ヲバ一層有利ニ処理シ得ルノミナラズ同時ニ就中スベテノ文明國家ノ完全ナル了解ト友誼ヲ享受シ得ベシト語リタリ。余ノ希望ニ且祈念スルハ日本ヲ含ム世界ノアラユル文明國家ガ各々自國民ノ福祉ヲ最高度ニ向上セシメ且同時ニ文明ニ對シ將又世界ノ後進諸國民ニ対スル彼等ノ義務ヲ果スタタ完全ナル交友及ビ了解ノ下ニ共勵スベキ事ニシテ而モ吾政府ハ

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將ニ半カハ此等後者ノ諸目標ヲ追ボスル上ニ於テ常ニ
日本政府ノ意思嚮ヲ充スベク用意アリ且斯クスル事ニ各
ナリサルモノナリト告ゲタリ。

次ニ余ハ「東亞」ニ於ケル平和狀態ニ於テ優越ニテ特殊
ナル權利ヲ而シテ同地域ニ於ケル平和維持ニ關聯シ日本ノ優
越的權利乃至義務ヲ日本が要求スル事ニ就テ何故日本政
府ハ斯カル條項或ハ公式ヲ引キ出セシヤ此矣ニ付即今至ル
処深酷ナル質問ガ投ゲラレ居ル事 而モ斯様ナル辭句
或ハ公式ガ東洋ノ至上支配權ノ性質ヲ包藏スル暗示
的或ハ結局的意思義ヲ有スルモノカ或ハ東洋ニ於テ
——日本側ノ表現ヲ用ヒシバ——「東亞」ニ於テ能フ限
ニ迅速ニ優先的通商權ヲ確保スルタメノ確タル目的ヲ有
スルモノナルニ付疑問ヲ挿ムモノ尠カラザル趣ヲ全ク平直
ニ申述ベタキ所存ナリト語リ。

大使ハ此ハ企圖セラレタル或ハ希求セラレタル意味ニア
ラズト反駁シ始メタリ。余ハコノニ或ル他國政府ニ屬
スル國民ガ東洋ニ於テ日本ガ當然日本ニ不利ナル影響
ヲ與フベシト考フル行為ヲ採ル場合 至ル処諸國家ヲ以テ
日本政府ガ東洋ニ於ケル至上霸權ヲ担ヒ且能フ限リ速
ニ通商上ノ優先權ヲ掌握セテ企圖セシニアラズヤトノ
疑問乃至推測ヲ抱クニ至ラシムルガ如キ單一ノ包格的
ナル公式ヲ発スル代リニ個々ノ問題ヲ當該政府ニ對シテ
提起スルコトが一層簡單ニシテ而モ容易ナルベシト語リ
同大使ハ重ネテ平和維持ニ日本ノ優越的權利其他
ニ就テ、此所謂公式ナルモノハ余ガ言及セシ如キ干渉・支配
或ハ至上支配權ヲ企圖スルモノニ非ズト言明セリ。

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No 4

余ハ今日益々大規模トナラントスル軍備ニ関シテ廣ク論議
行ハシ且斯カル計畫ノ存スルヲ看ル所ナルガ日本及独
逸ハ斯カル論議ニ主トシテ関聯シ居ルモノト看ララル二國ナ
ルコト又勿論若シ世界ガ——大使ガ余ニ語ル如ク——
日本政府ニ於テ至ニ支配權ニ対スル何等ノ意圖ナク又
日本政府ニヨル不當ナル干涉が存在セザルコトヲ了解スルニ
至ラバ貴國ハ世界ノ大部分ニ於テ行ハシ居ル軍備ニ関ス
ル論議ニ於テ對立トナル事ナカルベク而モ此ハ吾々ノ會
談ノ當初ニ余ガ語リタル諸國家ハ相互ニ理解シ合フ
コトニ特ニ意ヲ用フベキコト又各國ノ政治家ハイツシモ常
ニ國家間ノ不信誤解不明確ナル態ニ於テ醸シ出ス
様考案サレタル問題ヲ起ス如キ流言或ハ無責任或ハ
不正確ナル聲明ヲ修正シ又ハ説明シ得ル様心掛クベキナリト
趣旨ヲ示スモノナリト語リタリ余ハ更ニ語ヲ繼ギ世界
ニ於ケル現在少數ノ文明諸國ニトリ且ニ誠意ヲ盡シテ
共働スル必要今日程重要ナルコト未ダ當テナカリタル所ニテ
モ斯カル行動ハ勿論也如何ナル行動ヨリモ各國民
福祉ヲ能ク増進シ且文明ノ最善維持ヲ期シ得ベト
語リタリ更ニ余ハ如何ナル文明諸國ニトリテモ世界ノイッ
カノ地域例ヘバ東洋ニ於テ權利並ニ義務ヲ有スルト考ヘラ
ル重要ナル國民間ニ不公正或ハ條約ノ侵犯其他好ミカ
ラザル反應ヲ惹起セシムルガ如キ言葉或ハ表面上ノ政策ヲ
バ詮索スルコトノ愚ノ骨頂ナルヲ強調セリ余ハ世界ガ直
面シタル斯カル重大ナル危機ニ於テ債務者ガ債權
者ニ對シ約束ヲ履行セザル場合多々アル事條約ノ神

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聖が特ニ西部ヨーロッパニ於テ無視サレ且侵犯サレツ、アル事
今ハ吾々文明諸國家が法的並ニ道德的義務ヲ遵守
ス且之ヲ維持スルニ特ニ細心ナルベク且又就中吾國ハ自己
自身ノ爲ノミナラズ至ル処ニ於テ個人及ビ國家兩者ノ行動
ノヨリ良キヨリ高ナル規範ヲ維持セムガため斯クハ感ズルモ
ナリト告ゲタリ。

余ハ吾政府ハ其一般的ナル條約ニ、義務ヲ措キテハ唯世界
各地ニ於ケルト同様東洋ニ於ケル通商ニ、權利、平等即
チ又各國ノ法律、下ニ於ケル吾國ノ義務及權利ニ、関
心ヲ有スルモノナルコト、吾國ハ東洋ニ於テ保持セシ通商が如
何ニ僅少ナルモノナリトハイ。又假令將來、現在ヨリ尚僅
少ナラヤモハカラレズトハイ。吾人ハ當然此平等ノ根底ニ
基キテ行動セムコトヲ欲スルモノナリト語リ。次イデ余ハ東洋
ニ於テ吾政府ニ特別ノ義務ノ課セラル諸條約ノ存在セ
ズトモ世界各地ノ平和ニ関心ヲ有スル吾政府ハ又通商權
ノ平等ニモ関心ヲ示ササルヲ得ズト言明セリ。

余ハ貴國政府ハ全体ニ亘リ又ハ部分的ニ此等諸條
約ヲ否認シ且之ヲ廢棄スル意向アリヤト訊ネタリ。
又此等ノ諸條約ヲ無視シ又ハ侵犯スルコトが吾政府ニト
テハ迷惑至極ナルコト及ビ之ハ吾政府ヲミテ斯カル困惑ノ
可能性ヲ脱セムコトヲ云ヘリ。余ハ此問題ニ就テ遠迴ニ
暗示ヲ試ミ居ルモノニハアラズト云ヘリ。大使ハ日本政
府ハ此等ノ諸條約ヲ否認シ又ハ廢棄ヲ通告スル意
向ハナキ旨返答セリ。大使ハ日本政府ハ加盟權ヨリ
生シタル或考慮ノため國際聯盟ヲ脱退スル止ムナキ
ニ至ルヲ感ズ居ル旨ヲ云ヘリ。依リテ余ハ貴國政府

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が會員、資格ヲ拋棄スルハ聯盟、一頁タリニコトヨリ
生ズル支障、タメナリヤ。將又日本ガヴェルサイエ條約、署
名國、一頁ナルコトヨリ、タメナリヤト同ヒタダセシモ此ニ
對シ完全ナル回答ヲ得ザリキ
大使ハツイデ、ヤガテ来ルベキ海軍豫備會談ニ於テ、
日本政府ハ極東政策或ハソレニ類似、問題、條約ヲハ討
議スルコトニハ反對デアリ唯純粹ニ海軍關係、部面ニミテ
採リ上ゲラルベキナリトモ居ル旨申述ベタリ。彼ハコノ問
題ニ關スル政治的或ハ其他、面ハ既ニワシントン會議ニ
於テ討議サレタル処ニテ、日本政府ハ之ヲ及復スルコトニ
及對ナリト云フ。余ハ論評ヲ差控ヘタリ。

/Cordell/ /Hull/
コーデル ハル

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STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE 10

In reply to inquiries by press correspondents in regard to the "autonomy movement" in North China, Chinese and Japanese activities in relation thereto, and the American Government's attitude, the Secretary of State said:

There is going on in and with regard to North China a political struggle which is unusual in character and which may have far-reaching effects. The persons mentioned in reports of it are many; the action is rapid and covers a large area; opinions with regard to it vary; what may come of it no one could safely undertake to say; but, whatever the origin, whoever the agents, be what they may the methods, the fact stands out that an effort is being made--and is being resisted--to bring about a substantial change in the political status and condition of several of China's northern provinces.

Unusual developments in any part of China are rightfully and necessarily of concern not alone to the Government and people of China but to all of the many powers which have interests in China. For, in relations with China and in China, the treaty rights and the treaty obligations of the "treaty powers" are in general identical. The United States is one of those powers.

In the area under reference the interests of the United States are similar to those of other powers. In that area there are located, and our rights and obligations appertain to, a considerable number of American nationals, some American property, and substantial American commercial and cultural activities. The American Government is therefore closely observing what is happening there.

Political disturbances and pressures give rise to uncertainty and misgiving and tend to produce economic and social dislocations. They make difficult the enjoyment of treaty rights and the fulfillment of treaty obligations.

The views of the American Government with regard to such matters not alone in relation to China but in relation to the whole world are well known. As I have stated on many occasions, it seems to this Government most important in this period of world-wide political unrest and economic instability that governments and peoples keep faith in

principles and pledges. In international relations there must be agreements and respect for agreements in order that there may be the confidence and stability and sense of security which are essential to orderly life and progress. This country has abiding faith in the fundamental principles of its traditional policy. This Government adheres to the provisions of the treaties to which it is a party and continues to bespeak respect by all nations for the provisions of treaties solemnly entered into for the purpose of facilitating and regulating, to reciprocal and common advantage, the contacts between and among the countries signatory.

Foreign Relations I, pp. 240-241.

Footnote:

(¹⁰ Issued as a press release December 5, 1935, for publication in the morning newspapers of December 6, 1935.)

Doc. No. 219P (1st)

BR. EX. 37 THE AMERICAN EMBASSY IN JAPAN TO THE JAPANESE
MINISTRY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

AIDE-MEMOIRE

Excerpt

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With particular reference to the Foreign Office memorandum of November 5 the American Government finds unconvincing the statement as contained therein that the proposed control of the oil industry in Manchuria is not within the knowledge or concern of the Japanese Government. The American Government must of necessity assume that a project of such major importance to all concerned and one with regard to which Japanese interests including a quasi-official organization apparently are taking so active and so prominent a part can not escape either the knowledge or the concern of the Japanese Government. Likewise for obvious reasons the American Government can not accept the implied disclaimer of responsibility on the part of Japan in relation to the industrial policy in Manchuria of which this prohibition (project?) is a manifestation.

The American Government does not wish nor does it believe that the Japanese Government would wish to enter into controversy over the details of the project under discussion. The American Government feels however that it must call to the attention of the Japanese Government for that Government's most careful consideration certain facts and conclusions to which the American Government attaches great importance namely that there is proposed the setting up in Manchuria of a control of the petroleum industry which by whatsoever means attained and whatever called would in fact constitute a monopoly of the sale and distribution of oil in that area; that the creation of such a monopoly would impinge upon treaty rights which rights the authorities in Manchuria have affirmed to the world they would respect and maintain, an affirmation which the Japanese Government accepted and adopted in the protocol into which it entered with those authorities; that an oil monopoly and in fact any monopoly would in addition constitute a violation of Article III of the Nine Power Treaty to which both Japan and the United States are co-signatories. The creation of such a monopoly would adversely affect legitimate American interests long established in that region. Perseverance in this project by its promoters and indifference by the Japanese Government to that development and its consequences would tend to place at naught the emphatic and unconditional assurances repeatedly made by the Japanese Government of its devotion to the maintenance in Manchuria of the principle of the open door.

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TOKYO, November 30, 1934

Foreign Relations I, pp. 143-144

國務長官聲明(註)

94 938
2190 (25)

北支は於て自治運動、夫は國人の中国人及日本人の活動と亞米利加政府の態度と因るに新南通信員ノ博識ニ答(國務長官ハ次ノ如ク語ツタ。

北支那に於て而して華北ニ關係シテ異常ナルシカモ、影響力ノ大ナル戦争が行はる中に、是は國又ハ種々ノ報道中ニ現れて居ル人物ハ多シ、ソレ行動ハ急激ナリ大ナル地域ニ亘ツテナル。

ソレは國人の意見ハ種々ナリ、ソレが如何ナル結果ニナルカハ何人モ確定ニ言ヒ得ナクツタ。何レ原因カ何ナラハ、平先が誰ナラハ、方法カ何ナラハ、中國北部諸省ノ政治的状況並ニ狀態ニ重要ナル変化ヲ齎ラヌ努力ガナシテ而して之ガ反抗ヲ受ケテナル——トイフコトハ多ク實ナリ。

中國各地ニ於てハ異常ナル情勢ハ然リ本政府並ニ中國國民、ソレハ中國ニ利害關係ヲ有スル各國ガ当然且ツ必然的ニ關心ヲ持ツトスルナリ、其理由ハ中國國土又中國ニ於テ「條約國」ノ條約上ノ權並ニ義務ハ一般ニ同じナリ。合衆國ハ夫等條約國ノ一ナリ。

問題ノ地域ニ於テ合衆國、利害關係ハ他國ノ夫ト同様ナリ。ソレ地域ハ多數、亞米利加人、若干ノ亞米利加ノ財産、多量、亞米利加ノ商業的並ニ文化的活動ガ所在シ、吾等權益並ニ責任ガ夫等ニ附帶シテナル。故ニ亞米利加政府ハ右地域ニ於てハ可能ヲ嚴重監視シテナルナリ。

政治的紛争ト抑壓トハ不安ト疑惑ヲ生ミ、經濟的、社會的擾亂ヲ齎スニ到リ、夫はソレ條約上ノ權利ノ享受ト條約上ノ義務履行ハ困難トナリ。

219 P (25)

中国ニ関スルミナラズ全世界ニ關係アル事件ニ関スル重米利加
政府ノ見解ハ明カニ知ラシキナルトコロナリ。余ガ屢々述ベタ
様ニ、此ノ政治的不安ト経済的不安定ノ時代ニ於テ各國政府
並ニ國民ガ原則及誓約ヲ固守スルコトハ最も重要ナコトト
本政府ハ考ヘル。國際關係ニ於テハ秩序アル生活及進歩ニ肝
要ナル信頼、安定、安全感ヲアラシメル為ニハ協定ガアリ且ツ協定
ノ尊重ガナクテハナラナイ。吾國ハソノ傳統政策ノ基本原則
ヲ固執シタリ。本政府ハソノ加盟スル條約ノ條項ヲ遵奉シ、
相互ノ並ニ共通ノ利益ノ為、調印國同ノ接觸ヲ助長規整
スル目的ヲ以テ嚴肅ニ締結シタ條約ノ條項ヲ各國ガ尊重セ
タコトヲ依然願フモノナリ。

外交關係米一卷 二四〇—二四〇頁

註 — 一九三五年十二月六日附朝刊（掲載）、タタ十二月五日
新聞記事トミテ発表セラルモノ、

No 939

Doc 219P(18)

抄録 駐日米國大使館、日本外務省宛補助覺書

時三十一月五日付外務省覺書ヲ参照。米國政府滿洲ニ於ケル石油事業ニ對シ提議サシタル統制日本政府、関知又、干與セザルモノナルナリト、右覺書中ニアル説明ヲ首肯シ得ザルモノナリ。米國政府ハ全關係者ニトリ斯ノモ重要ナル計畫ニシテ且半官的組織一ヲ含ム日本事業團ガ明カニ頗ル積極的且顯著ナル役割ヲ演ジ、アル

計畫日本政府、関知或、干與其孰シヲモ脱シ得ザルモノナルコトヲ主張セザラ得ズ。亦明瞭ナル理由ニヨリテ米國政府、此、林下止(案?)ガ其ノ一表現ヲナス滿洲ニ於ケル産業政策ニ関スル日本ノ役割ノ責任ニ對スル暗示的承認ヲ完全認ムコト能ハズ。

No 1
米國政府ハ日本政府ガ問題ノ計畫ニ関スル細目ニ付敢テ論争ノ渦中ニ入ラ欲スルモノナリ事ヲ希フモノニアラズ或ハ又斯ク信スルモノニアラズ。米國政府ハ然レテ日本政府ニ對シ米國政府ガ最重要視スル或事實及結論ニ付日本政府自最モ周到ナル熟慮ニ對シ注意ヲ喚起セザラ得ズ、即チ其ハ石油事業ノ統制ヲ滿洲ニ

Doc 2/9P(98)

設定スルコトヲ提案スルモノニシテ其ハ如何ナル手段
ニ依リ達成セラルニセヨ又如何ナル名義ヲ以テスル
モ事実上其ノ地域ニ於ケル石油、販賣及配給
ノ独占ヲ構成スベク斯ル独占、設定ハ條約上、
權利即チ滿洲当局ガ之ヲ尊重シ且維持ス
ベシト世界ニ對シ確言セル權利ヲ侵害スルモノ
ニシテ然モ此確言タルヤ日本政府ガ該当局ト
締結セル議定書中ニ是迄諾且採用セル確言アリ
又石油独占ノミナシズ事實如何ナル独占モ日
本及合衆國ノ兩者ガ加盟シ居ル九國國條
約第三條ノ違反ヲ構成スベシ、斯ル独占、
創設ハ長期間其ノ地域ニ於テ建設サシタル正
當ナル米國ノ權益ヲ不當ニ侵害スベシ。該計畫
ニ於ケル其ノ起案者側ノ固執並ニ其ノ展開及
結果ニ對スル日本政府側ノ無頓着振ノ門戸開
放主義、滿洲ニ於ケル保持ニ對スル專心ニ就テ
日本政府ニ依リ再三強調サシタル無條件的確
認ヲ反古ニスル虞シアルベシ。

東京一九三四年十一月三十日

外交關係第一冊 一四三—一四四頁

No 2

Doc. No. 219P (16)

BR. EX. 35

THE CONSUL AT MUKDEN (LANGDON) TO THE
AMBASSADOR IN CHINA (JOHNSON)

Excerpts.

Mukden, October 30, 1937.

No. 158

.....

For Mr. Ohashi's ready reference Mr. Langdon cited some of the many declarations made by Hsinking promising to maintain the Open Door in Manchuria, namely:

The passage dealing with foreign policies in the Proclamation on the establishment of the State, March 1, 1932;

The telegram of Foreign Minister Hsieh to the Secretary of State of the United States, March 12, 1932, in particular paragraph 7, reading as follows: "With regard to economic activities of peoples of foreign nations within the state of Manchuria, the principle of the Open Door shall be observed";

The statement of Foreign Minister Hsieh on the occasion of the signing of the Manchukuo-Japan Protocol of September 15, 1932;

The telegram of congratulation of November 12, 1932, by Foreign Minister Hsieh on the occasion of the election of President Roosevelt;

Statement given to United Press representatives in Tokyo by the Manchukuo Foreign Office (see Bureau of Information and Publicity, Department of Foreign Affairs, Bulletin No. 60, May 4, 1933);

Statement for foreign countries issued March 1, 1934, by Foreign Minister Hsieh on the occasion of the enthronement of the Emperor, reaffirming the undertaking to maintain the Open Door announced March 1, 1932, on the occasion of the establishment of the State.

.....

Mr. Langdon expressed to Mr. Ohashi his deep regret that the statutes of Manchukuo now placed discriminatory restrictions on the commercial relations of his country with Manchuria and requested that Mr. Ohashi communicate to the proper authorities the unfavorable impression which such restrictions were making in the United States, which treats the trade of all countries, including Manchuria, alike.

Foreign Relations I, p. 151 at
p. 153.

219P(16)-1

Br. Ex. 35

奉天領事ラングドン (Langdon) ヨリ

陸支大使ジョンソン (Johnson) へ

奉天 一九三七年十月三十日

(投 奉) 一五八號

大橋氏ノ参考ノ爲「^{Langdon}ラングドン」氏ハ滿洲ニ於ケル
門戶開放維持ヲ約束セル新京ニ依ル多クノ聲明ノ幾
ツカラ引用セリ。

一九三二年三月一日ノ國家設立ニ關スル布告中
對外政策ニ關スル部分。

一九三二年三月一日附、謝外交部長ヨリ合衆國
國務長官ヘノ電文中、特ニ其ノ第七節ニハ次ノ字句
アリ。「滿洲國內ニ於ケル諸外國人ノ經濟活動ニ關
シテハ、門戶開放主義ガ守ラルベシ。」

一九三二年九月十五日、日滿議定書調印時ニ於
ケル謝外交部長ノ聲明。

「ルーズベルト」大統領選舉時ニ於ケル謝外交部
長ヨリノ一九三二年十一月十二日ノ祝電。

滿洲國外交部ニ依リ在東京合衆國新聞派遣記者團
ニ與ヘラレタル聲明 (一九三三年五月四日附外務省
情報局會報六〇號參照)

219P(161)-2

一九三四年三月一日皇帝即位ノ時謝外交部長ニ依
リ爲サレタ滿洲國建國ノ際一九三二年三月一日附ヲ
以テ聲明セル門戶開放維持ノ企圖ニ關スル再確認ヲ
ナセル聲明。

「ラングドン」氏ハ大橋氏ニ、滿洲國法令ガ自國
ト滿洲ノ商業關係ニ差別的制限ヲ與ヘタ事ニ深甚ノ
遺憾ヲ表シ且カカル制限ガ、滿洲ヲモ含ム凡テノ國
トノ貿易ヲ一樣ニ取扱フ合衆國ニ於テ好マシカラザ
ル印象ヲ作りツツアル事ヲ、シカルベキ當局ニ傳ヘ
ル様大橋氏ニ要求セリ。

外交關係第一冊第二五二頁及ビ第二五三頁

Doc. No. 219P (19)

BR. EX. 38

ORAL STATEMENTS BY THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR IN JAPAN
(GREW) TO THE JAPANESE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS
(HIROTA)

(TOKYO, April 16, 1935.)

1. The creation of the oil monopoly in Manchuria, and the part played therein by Japanese nationals and interest, will have a deplorable effect upon public opinion in the United States, which regards the monopoly and Japanese participation therein as clear breaches of treaty obligations.

2. The American companies selling oil in Manchuria have been engaged in good faith in the oil business for many years and have built up their business with the expenditure of much thought, energy and money. During all of this time they have maintained supplies sufficient to carry on the business uninterruptedly, and there is no record, so far as the Embassy is aware, of their having engaged in practices that were unfair to their clients or detrimental in any way to the best interests of Manchuria. The destruction, through the operation of the Monopoly, of this business and the good will so carefully built up over a long period of years, and the throwing of this business in large part into Japanese hands, will appear to the American public to be a most inequitable proceeding.

3. The Japanese Government disclaims responsibility for measures taken by the authorities in Manchuria in establishing the monopoly on the ground that they are acts of a state recognized by Japan as sovereign and independent. Nevertheless the peculiar relations and undoubted influence of Japan with those authorities have been fully demonstrated in other recent issues. This inconsistency is certain to affect adversely American opinion of the good faith and sincerity of the Japanese contentions in the present issue.

4. The American oil interests are being deprived of a business which they have been lawfully conducting for many years, on the ground, among others, of national defense, for which the Japanese Government insists it has responsibility. If the principle of national defense is involved, therefore, it would seem that Japan can not dissociate itself from the monopoly project. On the other hand, if the monopoly project is purely a commercial question, or is concerned solely with economic policy, it would appear to be eminently fitting for Japan to associate itself with other nations to assist in maintaining the principle of equality of commercial opportunity in Manchuria.

Foreign Relations I, pp. 150-151

Eu 941

doc 219p(19)

在日アメリカ大使(グリー) GREY / 日本外務大臣(廣田) /
口頭申入 (東京昭和十三年五月廿四日)

1. 満洲に於ける油業賣入開始及び之に關聯して日本人及び日本の事業
國三家の演説やラタ役割の事實及び夫に於ける日本人参加
の條約義務上ノ明かした違反と見做す合衆國の輿論上悲
しい影響を與へるに於て、

2. 満洲に於ける油業賣入を多量に賣りし會社の何事にも巨額の
賣入油業に従事して来るや、多量に思慮と精力と金
とを以て彼等自身の事業を建設して行くに比し、此の間、日本の事業
の妨げとなつてゐる二十餘の供給者彼等へ維持し彼等が實
際ニ顧客となつて正當にして其の事業を以て、或ハ滿洲の最善
ノ利益ニ何事か及ぶにや、十中八九の事ハ大使館に知れ
るに於てハ記録が十分なれども、事實上、適當な通知が十分でな
く、事業の破壊及び長年其の害を蒙つて居る老舗權の破壊
にて、日本の事業ハ大體今日日本人の手ニ安んずる事ハ、アメリカ一般
國民に取つてハ非常ニ不愉快な行爲と思はるにや、

3. 日本政府は滿洲に於ける此の局が事實上開始せしめざるに取つた
手段ニ對する責任ヲ其等ハ日本にヨリ主權ヲ有し且ツ獨占せし
ト國家ト認めてゐるに、行爲上ト云ふ根據ヲ以て否認
して、此のソレニ拘らざる其のまゝ、此の局ニ對する日本、特殊ノ關係
及び疑なき勢力ハ他ノ最近ノ出来事ヨリ十分示され、

此の矛盾は、又ヤ馬面ノ問題に於ける日本側の主張、信實性
ト眞實性は、二就テアメリカの輿論ニ並効果ヲ與へるに於て、
又日本政府が就中夫れに對する責任アリト主張するに、國防ノ權
據ヲ長年三日月の合法的ニ行はるる事業を以て、アメリカの石油
事業國ハ其年を奪ふに、若しモ國防の原則が包含せし

doc219p(19)

十「バツ」故日本八自「ヲ」專賣計更「ヲ」引離「又」事ハ名来ナ
称三思ハル他種專賣計更ガ純粹ニ商業上ノ問題ニアリ
バ或ハ全ク經濟政策ニ「ミ」関係ヲ有スル「ハ」滿洲ニ於ケル商
業樣會均キ原則ヲ維持スルニ於テ他ノ国家ト聯合シテ
之ヲ支持日本ニ取ツテ極メテ安當ト措置セラルト思ハル
スルハ

外國関係 — pp 150-151.

Document No. 219P (26)
Br. Ex. 45

Page 1

THE JAPANESE AMBASSADOR (SAITO) TO THE
SECRETARY OF STATE

No. 250

WASHINGTON, December 29, 1934.

SIR: I have the honor, under instructions from my
Government, to communicate to you the following:-

In accordance with Article XXIII of the Treaty concerning
the Limitation of Naval Armament, signed at Washington on the
6th February, 1922, the Government of Japan hereby give notice
to the Government of the United States of America of their in-
tention to terminate the said Treaty, which will accordingly
cease to be in force after the 31st December, 1936.

Accept (etc.)

SAITO

Foreign Relations I, p. 274.

華府海軍軍備制限條約廢止通告文

eu942
219P (26)

以書翰啓上致候。陳者本使ハ本国政府ノ訓令ニ依リ左、
通閣下ニ通報スルノ光榮ヲ有シ候。

日本國政府ハ千九百三十二年二月六日ワシントンニ於テ署名
セラレタル海軍軍備制限ニ関スル條約第三十三條ニ從ヒ茲ニ
アメリカ合衆國政府ニ對シ右條約ヲ廢止スルノ意思ヲ通告
ス依テ右條約ハ千九百三十六年十二月三十一日後ハ效力ヲ有セザル
モノトス

本使ハ該ニ閣下ニ向テ重テ敬意ヲ表シ候。 敬具。

千九百三十四年十二月二十九日

齊藤 博

在(ワシントン)

國務長官ヨリ下ルハ、閣下

Document No. 219P (27)
Br. Ex. 46

TELEGRAM
THE CHAIRMAN OF THE AMERICAN DELEGATION (DAVIS)
TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE

LONDON, January 15, 1936--2 p.m.
(Received January 15--11:27 a.m.)

Excerpt.

.....

The United States has been most desirous of reaching a new agreement for a reduction and limitation of naval armaments to supersede the existing treaties that are to expire at the end of this year. We have, therefore, been willing to discuss any proposals and to explore every possibility of agreement. We have been willing to consider any evidence that might have been presented to the effect that the present relative strengths are not fair and equitable and do not provide for equal security.

We have accordingly listened with the most careful attention to all the explanations given by the Japanese delegation of their proposal for a common upper level with a view to determining whether any new facts or considerations might be developed which would justify the United States in modifying its belief that the principles of the common upper limit would not be a practicable basis for the limitation and reduction of naval armament. While we greatly appreciate the clear exposition of the Japanese point of view presented by Admiral Nagano, the discussion has if anything served to strengthen our conviction that the principle of a common upper limit would not serve as a basis for negotiation and agreement.

.....

Foreign Relations I, pp. 294-295

943

Doc 219P(27)

No. 1

米國首席代表(デービス)/DAVIS/より國務長
官に宛てた電報

抜萃

一九三六年/昭和十一年/一月十五日午後二時、倫敦
(受信、一月十五日 午前十一時三十七分)

「合衆國は今年末失効する現存條約に代るべ
き、軍備縮小及制限に関する新しき協定に到
達するやうに切に希望して來た。故に我々は
喜んで如何なる提案でも検討し、又協定の
見込ある案を探し求めて來た。現在の/各國間
の/相對的兵力量は妥當公平でなく、又均等
の安全保障を與へないといふことを説明するため
提出される凡ての證據を考慮するに吝かでない
つた。

故に日本代表が最高規準を/各國/共通にせよと
いふ提案を説明したとき、に我々は最も注意し
て耳を傾けた。而してその説明より 共通最高
規準の原則は海軍軍備制限及縮小に對する實
行可能の基礎でないといふ合衆國の所信を改變
する事を合理つける 何か新しい事柄又は考
へ方が發展するや否やを定めよといふ考へた。

Doc 219P(27)

永野大將の提出した日本側の見解の明確な
る説明を我々は十分に尊重したが、討議の結果
果共通最高規準の原則は交渉及協定に
對する基礎として役に立たないといふ我々
の信念を強むるに役に立った

外國關係一 二九四—二九五頁

No. 2

Ex. # 944

Doc. No. 219P (20)

Br. Ex. 39

THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR IN JAPAN (GREW) TO THE
JAPANESE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS. (HIROTA)

No. 828

TOKYO, December 1, 1937.

EXCELLENCY: Acting under the instructions of my Government I have the honor to refer to reports that on November 1 (5?) a treaty was signed with Japan ending Japanese extraterritorial rights in Manchuria and that on this account there was issued a manifesto in regard to the extraterritorial rights of foreigners other than Japanese in Manchuria. It has also been brought to the attention of my Government that the branch at Harbin of the National City Bank of New York, an American concern, has received a letter from the Department of Economics at Hsinking stating that a recently promulgated "law concerning foreign juridical persons" "naturally" applies to all foreign firms and requesting that preparation be made to register and to appoint a representative in accordance with the law. The extraterritorial rights of nationals of the United States in Manchuria are granted by treaties between the United States and China and my Government considers that the law under reference which apparently contemplates the assertion by the authorities in Manchuria of jurisdiction over American juridical persons is inapplicable to American nationals and firms. My Government therefore is impelled to register emphatic objection to any attempt by the authorities of Manchuria to exercise jurisdiction over American nationals and to make full reservation in regard to the treaty rights of the United States and its citizens.

I am directed by my Government to address the Japanese Government on this matter in view of the relationship between the Japanese Government and the authorities in Manchuria.

I avail myself, (etc.)

JOSEPH C. GREW

Foreign Relations I, p. 154.

219p(20)

944

駐日アメリカ大使(グリー) / GREW / 并 日本外務大臣(廣田)

宛
第二八号

東洋一九三三年(昭和十五年)十二月一日

閣下、我政府、指令ニ基キ、余ハ十一月一日(五日?)満洲ニ於テ
 日本、治外法權廢止ニ關スル條約ニ日本カ署名スルニ及ビ
 之ニ伴ヒ満洲ニ於テ日本人以外、外人、治外法權ニ關シ、宣言カ
 發セタル日、報章ニ言及スル、文章多有ス。アメリカ會社、ニ
 ニュー・ナショナル・シティ / National City / 銀行、にハ、支店、新
 事ニ於テ、經濟部、最近、公布セタル「外國法人ニ關スル律
 ハ」ニ對シ、總テ外國商社ニ適用セラル、云々、且、右法律ニ
 準シ、登録、及、代表者任命、準備、為スル、要請、セ、書翰
 多量ニ、我政府、宛、目スル、所、ナリ、居、リ、アメリカ國籍人
 ノ、支那ニ於テ、治外法權ニ關シ、本件法律ハ、明ニ満洲ニ於テ
 ル、官憲、カ、之、ニ、對シ、アメリカ法人ニ對シ、行政權ヲ主張セ、ト、企
 圖、ス、ル、モ、如キ、我政府、ハ、アメリカ國人、及、商社ニ對シ、右、
 適用、得、ル、モ、ト、因、テ、從、テ、我政府、ハ、アメリカ國人ニ對シ、
 行政權ヲ行使セ、ト、ス、ル、満洲官憲、カ、如何、ニ、企、圖、ニ、對シ、モ
 強硬、ニ、反、對、態度ヲ、表明、シ、且、今、衆、國、及、同、市民、條約
 上、權利ニ、關シ、人、之、カ、完全、ニ、保護、(ヲ、ナ、ル、ヲ、得、ル、モ、云、フ、
 本職、ハ、日本政府、カ、満洲ニ於テ、官憲、同、關係ニ、鑑、ミ、本
 件、ニ、關シ、日本政府ニ、申、入、ラ、ス、ル、我政府、ニ、命、カ、之、ニ、
 次第ナリ。

此、機會ニ、(云々)

ジョセフ・C・グリー
/ JOSEPH. C. GREW /

外交關係 I 一五四頁

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE JAPANESE DELEGATION (NAGANO)
TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE CONFERENCE (MONSELL)

(LONDON,) January 15, 1936.

MY LORD, I have the honour hereby to notify Your Lordship that as it has become sufficiently clear at today's session of the First Committee that the basic principles embodied in our proposal for a comprehensive limitation and reduction of naval armaments cannot secure general support, our Delegation have now come to the conclusion that we can no longer usefully continue our participation in the deliberations of the present Conference.

We remain, nevertheless, firmly convinced that our proposal is one best calculated to attain an effective disarmament, and we regret to state that we cannot subscribe, for the reasons we have repeatedly set forth, to the plans of quantitative limitation submitted by the other Delegations.

I desire to assure you, on this occasion, that we most sincerely appreciate the cordial manner in which you have been good enough to conduct the Conference; at the same time, I should like to tender our deepest thanks on behalf of our Delegation, for the hearty co-operation of all the Delegations to this Conference.

I have (etc.)

OSAMI NAGANO

Foreign Relations I, p. 297.

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219 p (28)

日本使節團長(永野)宛 會議々長(モントゴメリー) / Monsell
宛書簡

(ロンドン) / LONDON / 一九三六年一月十五日

閣下！

海軍々備、包括的制限及縮少ニ對スル我々ノ提案を包攝セ
ラレ居ル根本原則が一般的支持ヲ受ケ得タイ事
第一委員會、本日ノ會議ニ於テ充分明ラカニサレタル以テ我
代表部ハ之以上本會議ノ評議ニ參加ヲ續ケル事ハ無益ナ
トノ結論ニ到達シタルヲ閣下ニ御通告申上げタラ存ジマス
併ニ我々ハ我提案が効果的軍縮達成上最善ノモノナリトス
ル見解ヲ依然堅持スルモノナリマシテ、屢次述べマシタ理由ニ
依リ他代表部ヨリ提出サレタ量的制限案ヲ承諾シ得タイ事
ヲ申上げルノ遺憾ト致シマス。此機會ニ於テ我々ハ貴下ガ
本會議ヲ極大ニ懇切ナル態度ヲ以テ主宰サレタル事ニ對シ
衷心敬意ヲ表スルモノナリマス。
同時ニ本官ハ本會議出席ノ各國代表部ノ懇切ナル御力
ニ對シ我々代表部ニ代リマシテ深甚ナル感謝ノ意ヲ表シタイト
存ジマス

永野修身

外交關係工 二九七頁

Q. 946
Document No. 219P (29)
Br. Ex. 48

TELEGRAM
THE AMBASSADOR IN JAPAN (GREW) TO THE
SECRETARY OF STATE

TOKYO, June 18, 1937--4 p.m.
(Received June 18--9:05 p.m.)

While the limitation of the gun calibre for capital ships constitutes one important aspect of qualitative limitation, the Japanese Government, in elucidating at the last London Naval Conference their basic attitude concerning the means calculated to bring about just and fair state of naval disarmament, made it clear that they could not subscribe to qualitative limitations alone, if not accompanied by a simultaneous restriction in quantity. The Japanese Government still hold the same conviction as regards the matter of qualitative limitations. Stated briefly, it is their belief that a mere limitation in quality alone will only induce a tendency to make up for the deficiency caused through such limitation, by resorting to quantitative augmentation, thus ultimately leading to a competition in naval armament in quantity. The Japanese Government, therefore, are not, at this juncture, in a position to adopt, apart from quantitative restrictions, a mere limitation of the gun calibre for capital ships, a matter which properly belongs to the most important phase of qualitative limitation and hope that the United States Government will understand the above-mentioned position of the Japanese Government.

It may be added for the information of the United States Government that this position of the Japanese Government as regards qualitative limitation was communicated towards the end of March to the British Government, when the Japanese Government responded to the British proposal of January this year regarding the limitation to fourteen inches of the maximum calibre of guns for capital ships.

June 18, 1937.

GREW

Foreign Relations I, 301-302

64946
219P(29)

電報

駐日大使(グー) / Grew / 陸軍務長官宛

東京 一九三七年六月十八日 午後四時

(六月十八日午前九時五分受信)

主力艦、砲口徑ノ制限ハ質的制限ノ重要ナル部面ヲ成ス一方
日本政府ハ海軍々備縮少ノ公正妥當ナル状態ヲモタラスモト
看ラル方法ノ考慮ニ因シ前回ノロンドン海軍會議ニ於テ其ノ
根本態をヲ闡明スルニ當リ、量ニ於テ併行的制限ヲ伴フニ
非カシ、質的制限ノミヲ應諾スルヲ不可能ナルヲ明言シタリタリ。
日本政府ハ依然質的制限ノ問題ニ因シテハ同様ノ信念ヲ保持シテ
居ル。要約スルハ質ノミノ軍ナル制限ハ量的増加ニ依リ、ヒイテハ
海軍々備ノ量ノ競争トナルコトニ依リ、此ノ如キ制限ニ依ル欠陥ヲ
補フ傾向ヲ引キ起スノミデアルト云フ、ガ其ノ信念ニアリ。ソレ故
日本政府ハ此ノ際ハ量的制限ヲ離シ主力艦ノ砲口徑ノ軍ナル
制限即チ將ニ質的制限ノ最モ重要ナル面ニ属スル此ノ問題ヲ
トリアゲル様ナラハシタイ。而シテ合衆國政府ガ日本政府ノ上述ノ
立場ヲ了解スルヲ望ミテ居ル。
質的制限ニ関スル日本政府ノ此ノ立場ハ主力艦ノ最大砲口徑ヲ
十四吋ニ制限スルヲ因スル本年一月ノ英國ノ提案ニ対スル回答トシ
日本政府ガ三月末頃英國政府ニ通告セシタリ。合衆國政府ニ参考ノ為
附記シテオキマス。

一九三七年 六月十八日

グー / GREW /

外交関係 I

三〇二頁 — 三〇三頁

Doc. 219F (31)
Br. Ex. 50

STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE¹¹

I have been receiving from many sources inquiries and suggestions arising out of disturbed situations in various parts of the world.

Unquestionably there are in a number of regions tensions and strains which on their face involve only countries that are near neighbors but which in ultimate analysis are of inevitable concern to the whole world. Any situation in which armed hostilities are in progress or are threatened is a situation wherein rights and interests of all nations either are or may be seriously affected. There can be no serious hostilities anywhere in the world which will not one way or another affect interests or rights or obligations of this country. I therefore feel warranted in making--in fact, I feel it a duty to make--a statement of this Government's position in regard to international problems and situations with respect to which this country feels deep concern.

This country constantly and consistently advocates maintenance of peace. We advocate national and international self-restraint. We advocate abstinence by all nations from use of force in pursuit of policy and from interference in the internal affairs of other nations. We advocate adjustment of problems in international relations by processes of peaceful negotiation and agreement. We advocate faithful observance of international agreements. Upholding the principle of the sanctity of treaties, we believe in modification of provisions of treaties, when need therefor arises, by orderly processes carried out in a spirit of mutual helpfulness and accommodation. We believe in respect by all nations for the rights of others and performance by all nations of established obligations. We stand for revitalizing and strengthening of international law. We advocate steps toward promotion of economic security and stability the world over. We advocate lowering or removing of excessive barriers in international trade. We seek effective equality of commercial opportunity and we urge upon all nations application of the principle of equality of treatment. We believe in limitation and reduction of armament. Realizing the necessity for maintaining armed forces adequate for national security, we are prepared to reduce or to increase our own armed forces in proportion to reductions or increases made by other countries. We avoid entering into alliances or entangling commitments but we believe in cooperative effort by peaceful and practicable means in support of the principles, hereinbefore stated.

Foreign Relations I, pp. 325-326.

Footnote:

(¹¹ Issued as a press release on July 16, 1937; reprinted from Department of State, Press Releases, July 17, 1937 (vol. XVII, No. 407), p. 41.)

國務卿聲明書

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doc 219 P(31)

予、世界、各所、於此紛亂、事能起ル所、質問ヤ示唆
多ク、世所より受領レタリ。

疑ニ無キ、此際、予、緊張、逼迫、孰モ表面上
相隣接スル國家、之、關係、也、也、之ヲ窮局ニテ、解析
スル、全世界、對、免、難、利害關係ヲ相スル、ナリ、
武器ヲ以テ、敵對行為、進行、スル、所、或、其、脅威、所、
即、凡、一、國家、權利、利益、重大ナル影響ヲ現實ニ受ケ、若
シ、受、度、正、情勢、ト、世界、何處、於、テ、モ、荷、タ、モ、テ、モ、動、
ト、何等、形、於、一、我國、利益、權利、乃至義務、關係、所
在、ナリ、此、故、予、我國、深、関心、有、ル、所、國際問題
及、情勢、關係、我、政府、此、信、就、テ、一、聲明書ヲ發、ル、權
利、然、一、寧、日、義務、一、テ、リ、ト、感、ス。

我國、斯、エ、又、一、貫、テ、平和、維持、ヲ、主張、ス、我等、國家
的、及、國際、的、目的、ヲ、主張、ス、我等、凡、一、國家、其、政策、遂、行
ニ、武、力、使用、ス、ル、他、國、内、部、干、渉、ス、ル、事、ヨリ、自、戒、ス、
ヲ、主張、ス、我等、國際、關係、ニ、於、ル、問題、一、解決
平和、的、商、議、協、定、ノ、方、法、ニ、據、リ、シ、キ、コト、ヲ、主張、ス、
我等、國際、協、定、忠、實、ニ、遵、守、ス、ヲ、主張、ス、我
等、條、約、神、聖、ノ、主義、ヲ、遵、奉、シ、テ、其、條、項、ヲ、變
更、修、正、ス、ル、場、合、ニ、相、互、ニ、援、助、相、解、精、神
ヲ、以、テ、ス、ル、秩、序、ヲ、一、步、段、ニ、ヨリ、テ、成、就、シ、得、
タル、コト、ヲ、信、ズ、我等、ス、マ、テ、一、國家、ニ、ヨリ、テ、他、國、
權利、ヲ、尊、重、セ、ル、コト、及、凡、一、國家、ニ、ヨリ、テ、他、國、
義務、ヲ、遂、行、セ、ル、コト、ヲ、信、ズ、我等、國際、法

No 1

Doc 219p(B1)

1 復元強化ヲ擁護ス。我等ハ全世界、経済的保全ト
安定ヲ増進スル方法ヲ主張ス。我等ハ國際貿易ニ於
ケル是後、障壁、低減或ハ撤去ヲ主張ス。我等ハ
貿易上、有效ナル機會均等ヲ求メ又凡テ、國家ニヨル
待遇均等、原則、實施ヲ要望ス。我等ハ軍備、
制限及縮減ヲ信ズ。我等ハ國家保安、爲ニ適度、
軍備ヲ維持スル、必要ヲ認め、我等自ラ、軍備ヲ
他國、軍備、増減ニ比例シテ増減スル、準備ヲ有ス。
我等ハ同盟又ハ紛糾ヲ来ス如キ契約ヲ避ク。然レド
モ以上列強者ニル原則、支持ニ於テ平和的實際手
段ニヨル協同的協力ニ信頼ス

(對外國關係 I 三三五—三三六頁)

脚註十一

一九三七年七月十六日 新報公報記事トシテ発行
一九三七年七月十七日 國務省新報公報記事集
(第十七卷四七号四頁)ヨリ再版

26.2 ★

MEMORANDUM BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE

(WASHINGTON,) June 12, 1936.

Excerpt.

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In reply, I told Mr. Yoshida that I would speak frankly but in the friendliest possible spirit and say that the impression among many persons in this country was that Japan sought absolute economic domination, first of eastern Asia, and then, of other portions as she might see fit; that this would mean political as well as military domination in the end; that the upshot of the entire movement would be to exclude countries like the United States from trading with all of those portions of China thus brought under the domination or controlling influence so-called of Japan; that this presented a serious question to first-class countries with commercial interests in every part of the world, for the reason that, for instance, my country stood unqualifiedly for the principle of equality of commercial opportunity and industrial right alike in every part of the world; and that it would be strange and impracticable for my country to stand for this doctrine with the announcement always that it qualified same by applying it to only one-half of the world and one-half of the world's population. I remarked that I could say in all candor that this Government had never by the slightest word or intimation suggested to the people or officials of the 20 Latin American countries as to what amount of trade they should conduct with Germany, or Great Britain, or Japan, or any other country.

I continued with the statement that there was no reason, in my judgment, why countries like Japan, the United States and England, could not in the most amicable spirit, and with perfect justice and fairness to each, agree to assert and abide by the worldwide principle of equality in all commercial and industrial affairs, and each country solemnly agree that it would not resort to force in connection with the operation of this rule of equality and why Governments like the three mentioned could not sit down together and in a spirit of fair dealing and fair play confer and collaborate and not cease until they had found a way for amicable and reasonable adjustments or settlements. I said that this would wipe out and eliminate 90% of all the occasions for friction between the nations.

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C(ORDELL) H(ULL)

Foreign Relations I, pp. 241 at
242-243

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Doc-219P(30)

國務長官覺書

(フニトニ)昭和十二年(一九三六年)十月十日

拔筆

其向答トシテ余平直ニ然ニ云来ル限リ友誼的ナ精神ヲ以テ語ラント古
曰氏ニ云ヒ次事ヲ申述ベタリ則チ此國ニ於ケル多クノ人々間ニ於ケル印象
日本ガ第一東亞ノ次ニ日本ガ適當ト認メ他ノ地域絶對的ニ經濟的制
覇ヲホメ居タルトニテ之ニ終局ニ於テ軍事的支配及ヒ政治的支配ヲ意
味スルモノナルベシ、全運動歸結シ合衆國、如キ國々斯クテ所謂日本、
支配或ハ統制力下ニ置カラル支那、夫等一切ノ地域ト、貿易ヨリ排除ス
ルトトナルベシ之ニ世界ノ凡ル部分ニ於テ商業上ノ權益ヲ有スル諸國ニ
次理由ヨリ重大ナル問題ヲ投ジタリ。即チ例ヘ我國ニ世界ノ凡ル地域ニ於テ
有テ商業上ノ機會及工業上ノ權利對スル平等ノ原則ヲ無制限的ニ
標榜シ来タリモ、モナルガニモ世界ノ二分一、世界人口ノ二分一、該原則ヲ
適用スル事ヨリテ我國ガ之ヲ制限スルノ事、不斷ノ発表ト併行シ、斯ナル
主義ヲ支持スル事、我國ニテリ不可見議且実行不可能事ニ屬スル所ナリ。
我政府ハ二十、ラテニアマカ、國々、國民又ハ官吏ニ對シテ裁量、貿易ヲ
シ、國々獨逸或ハ大英國或ハ日本或ハ他ノ國々ト行フベキヲ關シテ
一言半句ヲリトモ提言或ハ暗示ヲ解タ當ニ示唆タルコトナシト全ク平直
言ト得ルモノナリト余ハ述ベタリ。

余ハ語ヲ續ケ、余ノ判斷スル所ニテ、日本、合衆國及ヒ英國、如キ國々ガ何
故最モ友誼的ナ精神ニ在リ得ザルカ、又十五、完全ニ正義ト公平ヲ以
テ總テ、商業及ヒ工業上ノ事項ニ於テ世界普遍ノ平等ノ原則ヲ主
張シ且テ字ニ得ザルカ、又各國ガ此ノ平等原則ノ運用ニ關聯シ、武力ニ
訴ヘテ之ニ嚴肅ニ同意シ得ザルカ、又前述セル如キニ、政府ガ公正ナル折
衝及ヒ行動、精神下ニ相會シ談合シ又協働シ彼等ガ友誼的且

NO. 1

NO. 2

Doc 219P(30)

合理的ナル調整又ハ解決ハ道ヲ見出ス迄之ヲ續行シ得ガリ理由トシ
思ヒト余ハ述ベテリ。國家間ニ於テ摩擦ヲ生ズルニハ機會・九〇ノ五ノ
之ニヨリ拭キリ除キサルベシト余ハ述ベテリ

.....
コーデル・ヘル (Cordell Hull)

外國關係 I, p 241 at 242-243.

Doc. No. 219P (32)

Page 1

Br. Ex. 51

MEMORANDUM BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE

Excerpts.

(WASHINGTON) July 21, 1937.

The Ambassador of Japan called this morning at my request. After brief preliminaries, I very seriously addressed the Ambassador and said that, of course, he must be fully aware that when two nations comprising 500 million people are engaged in a controversy in which danger of general hostilities appear imminent this country cannot help but be greatly interested and concerned; that it is in the light of this situation and of the intense desire of this country for peace everywhere that I have been undertaking to confer with the ambassadors from both Japan and China from time to time regarding developments, present and prospective, in the danger zone; that I have approached each government, in a spirit of genuine friendliness and impartiality in an earnest effort to contribute something to the cause of peace and to the avoidance of hostilities in the Far East; that, if the Ambassador did not mind, I would be glad to reemphasize the chief points I had referred to in our previous conversations on this general subject and situation; that these included a most earnest appeal to each government, from every possible standpoint, for peace, as well as an earnest expression of the opinion that a war would result in irreparable harm to all governments involved and would prove utterly disastrous, in the present chaotic state of world affairs, to all phases of human welfare and human progress . . .

I then said to the Ambassador that I might repeat what I had also said to him at the beginning--that this government is ready and will be most glad at any time to say or do anything, short of mediation which of course requires the agreement of both parties in advance, which might in any way whatever contribute towards composing the present matters of controversy between Japan and China; that this was, of course, said to the Ambassador for his Government; and I added that I desired to repeat with emphasis the present, continued attitude of this government of thus being ready and desirous of saying or doing anything that the government or governments concerned might suggest which would be fair and impartial towards all concerned and at the same time calculated to be helpful in restoring thoroughly peaceful relations in the Far East.

I said to the Ambassador that there was another phase of the matter I would like to put before him. I explained that I was anxious that my point of view be completely understood and for this reason I would like to inform the American Ambassadors

in Japan and in China of the conversations held here and would like to have those Ambassadors report what I said, just as the Ambassadors of those countries to whom I spoke here would report, to the Japanese and Chinese Governments.

At one stage I asked the Ambassador what the latest developments were. He replied that he knew very little in addition to what had been reported to me by the Japanese Counselor during the past three or four days, except a report about a clash near the Marco Polo Bridge in which the Japanese used artillery only and declined to use their infantry. He said their purpose was to localize the controversy and avoid general hostilities; that he still has hopes that this result may be accomplished; that they are not bringing down troops from Japan proper.

The Ambassador said little throughout the conversation, but sought to make himself agreeable. I emphasized to him that if we did not feel genuinely friendly and impartial towards his country and all concerned I would not be saying some of the things I was saying.

During the course of the conversation, I remarked that I desired to refer specially to an incident of the past two days in which two American women, near their embassy in Peking, were assaulted by Japanese guards. I said that I had remarked to the press, off the record, on yesterday that I had only received newspaper information about this attack upon the American women and I could not comment upon it with accuracy until official information came to me; that in the meantime I assumed and hoped that our Embassy in Peking would take the matter up with the Japanese Government and a settlement, or adjustment, or action satisfactory to all concerned would be brought about. The Ambassador expressed his favorable interest in such action and also his belief that such would be the case. Dr. Hornbeck, who was present, remarked to the Ambassador that similar incidents relating to our nationals or the nationals of other governments have occurred during the past five years and that it would be very helpful to the reputation of the Japanese Government to see to it that their guards would deport and demean themselves in a way to avoid such occurrences. The Ambassador expressed his approval.

C(ORDELL) H(ULL)

Foreign Relations I, pp. 330-333

國務長官覽書

(可) (シ) (ト) / WASHINGTON /

一九三三年 / 昭和十二年 / 七月二十日

219p (32) 校章

余が要求ニ應ジ、日本大使、今朝来訪セリ。簡單ナル前置ニ
次、余ハ眞劍ニ大使ニ次、如ク申シ入ル。即チ、勿論貴大使
モ、御承知ノ筈ナルモ、五億ノ国民ヨリ成ルニ玉家が相争ヒ、全
面的交戦状態現出ノ危険モ切迫シ居ル際、我國トシテ之ニ対シ
深キ關心ヲ抱カザルヲ得ズ。此ノ情勢ト具、全世界ニ平和ヲ希
求スル我國ノ熾烈ナル願望トニ鑑ミ、余ハ從來、時ニ觸ル日華兩大
使ト、危機ヲ存ミツツアル地帯ニ於テ、情勢ノ進展現状及ビ將來
ノ見通シニ関シ、話合ヲ行ヒ來ルニ常事ナリ。余ハ今迄兩國政
府ニ働きカケ、純粹ナル友好的精神ト無キヲ以テ、極東ニ於
ケル平和ノ達成ト戦争ノ回避トニ何等カ寄與スル所アラント
シ、眞劍ナル努力ヲ擲シ來リタリ。若シ大使、於テ反対ナラ
バ、此ノ一般の問題ト情勢トニ関スル從來ノ話合、際余が言及セ
ル主要点ヲ再強調シタリ。之等ノ可能ナルアラユル観点ヨリ、兩國
政府ニ平和ノ維持ヲ衷心ヨリ懇請セントスルモノナルト共ニ、且ハ
戦争ノ總テノ關係政府ニ取返シノツカ又損害ヲ與ヘ又現時
ノ渾沌タル世界情勢ニ於テハアラユル形態ニ於ケル人類ノ安寧
ト進歩トニ眞ニ悲惨ナル結果ヲ來スベシトノ見解ヲ衷心ヨリ根柢
セルモノナル旨述べタリ……

更ニ余ハ大使ニ次、如ク語リ。余ガ之亦最初ニ大使ニ述べ
タ即チ兩当事者側ノ同意ヲ前以テ必要トスルこと勿論ナルモ、何
等カノ意味ニ於テ、多少ナリモ日華間紛争ノ現状ノ打開ニ

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寄與スル所アルベク、一種ノ居中調停トシテ、本政府ハ喜ニテ如何ナル時ニテモ、如何ナル事ニテモ、述べ或ハ爲スノ用意アリト云、之ニヨリ余ハ改テ繰返シタリ。

此ノ事ハ勿論貴國ノ爲ニ貴大使ニ述ベタル次オナリト、更ニ余ハ附加テ、同国政府或ハ関係アル政府ノ承認スル処ニシテ總テ、関係国ニ對シ公正不偏ナルト共ニ極東ニ於テ完全ニ平和ナル關係ヲ回復スルニ有効ナリト考ヘラル、又ハ如何ナル事ナリトモ述べ或ハ爲サントスル用意アリ且ツ希マントス我ガ政府能ハ現在斯ナルト共ニ將來モ不変ナル事ヲ反覆強調シ度シト語リタリ。

余ハ同大使ニ對シ本件ニ就キテハ貴大使ニ提言シタキ他ノ問題アリト述べ次、如ク説明セリ。余ハ余ノ見解ヲ完全ニ了承サルヲ切望シテモズ、然レトモ余ハ駐日駐華アメリカ大使ニ當地ニ於ケル話合ノ模様ヲ通知シ且ツ之等ヲシテ余ノ述ベタル事ヲ報告セシムルト共ニ、當地ニテ余ハ會談セル兩國大使モ右ニ聞シシゾ、政府ニ報告セシムヲ希望スト。

會談ニ際ニ於テ余ハ最近ノ狀況如何ヲ尋ネタリ。大使ハ此ノ三四日來日本參事官ヨリ余ニ報告セル以外之ニ附ケ加フルベキ何物ヲモ殆ド知ラズ、唯盧溝橋 / Marco Polo Bridge / 附近ニ於テ衝突アリシノ際日本軍ハ砲兵ノミヲ用ヒ步兵ヲ使用スルヲ禁ジタリト報告アリタリト述ベタリ。更ニ大使ハ日本側ノ意圖又ハ所ハ紛争ヲ局地的ノモノトシテ全面的戦争ヲ避クルニアリ、余ハ猶ソノ目的ノ達成サレベキ希望ヲ抱キ居リ、又日本側ガ日本本土ヨリ軍隊ヲ派遣シツツアル如キ事實無シト述ベタリ。

同大使ハ會談中殆ド発言セザリシモ、余ニ調子ヲ合セント努メタリ、余ハ余等ガ彼ノ國及ビ總テノ關係者ニ對シ純然タル友好

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無私、情ヲ^懷非レバ余ハ此ナリトモ余ガ述ベタルガ如キハ申
出ガリシナルベキコトヲ強調セリ。

會設中ニ於テ余ハ在北京アメリカ大使館附近ニ於テ二名ノアメ
リカ婦人ガ日本軍警備兵ヨリ襲撃ハタル此ノ事同ニ於ケル一
橋^ヲ特言及シタシト述ベタリ。余ハ昨日新聞記者ニ對シ其ノ
場限リ、語^ヲシテ、余ハ此ノアメリカ婦人襲撃問題ニ就キテハ
新聞ニタル報道ヲ得タルノミニテ公報ヲ接受スル迄ハ正確ナル論
評^ヲ下シ得ズト語リタリ。其ノ際余ハ在北京アメリカ大使館ガ
本件ヲ日本政府ト同ノ問題トシテトリスケ關係者總テ對シ
満足ナル落着、調整或ハ行動、齎サルベキモノト考ヘ、且ツ希
望シタル次第ナリ。右ノ如ク述ベタルニ大使ハ斯カル干渉ニ對ス
ル好意アル關心ヲ示スト共ニ右様ノ解決ヲ見ルナラント信ズル旨
表明セリ。其ノ場ニ同席セルホーベンツ博士 / Dr. Hornbeck / ハ
同大使ニ過ケル五ヶ年同ニアメリカ國人其ノ他ノ國人ニ對シ同様
ノ件発生シタルニ、日本ノ警備兵ガ斯カル事件ノ生起ヲ避ケル
様其ノ振舞ニ氣ヲツケル如ク日本政府ニ於テ注意ヲ拂ハルナラ
ハ同政府ノ聲譽譽ヲ擧^ゲアルニ大ニ力アルベシト述ベタリ。
同大使ハ之ヲ肯定スル旨述ベタリ。

コーデル (ハル) / C(ORDELL) H(ULL) /

外交關係工 三三〇—三三三頁

Ex. # 950

Doc. No. 219P (33)

Br. Ex. 52

MEMORANDUM BY THE AMBASSADOR IN JAPAN (GREW)

(TOKYO) August 10, 1937

Excerpt

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American Offer of Good Offices.

2. I then referred to the statement which I had made to the Minister in our last conversations as on my own initiative and responsibility, that I hoped he would let me know if he ever saw ways in which I could be helpful in the present situation. I said that my Government had now authorized me to present this as a definite offer of good offices and that I was doing so in an informal, confidential and exploratory way, first because it seemed to me important to avoid publicity, and second because we wished to avoid any semblance of interference and were only anxious to be as helpful as possible. I repeated and emphasized this aspect of my remarks so that there could be no doubt in the Minister's mind as to our precise attitude and intentions. I then said that it had occurred to us that either now or later it might be helpful for us to arrange some neutral ground for a meeting of Japanese and Chinese plenipotentiaries to conduct negotiations and perhaps to be helpful if difficulties in those negotiations should arise.

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J(OSEPH) C. G(GREW)

Foreign Relations I, p. 339 at
340.

Doc 2/9P (33)

駐日ノ米國ノ大使(グー)(GREW)備忘録

抜萃

一九三七一年ノ昭和十二年ノ八月十日(東京)

「アメリカ」ヨリ「日本」外務省ニ「斡旋」ヲ申出デタル件

ニ、ソノカラ「前」大臣ト會談シタトキ、私自身、發音ハト「貴」
任ニ於テ「現在」ノ「状態」ニ於テ「不」役ニ立ツコトガ「ア」タラシ「私」ニ知ラセテ
頂キ度イト言フタト「話」ガ移テ行ク。本國政府ガ「斡旋」ノ
具體的提案ト「音」味デ「コ」シ「贈」呈スル「權」能「私」ニ與ヘテ「ア」
ルコト。又第一ニ「世間」ニ知レ度ヒ「ト」ラ「避」ケル「必要」ガアルト「思」ハシ
タタ。第二ニ「私」達ガ「聊」カ「タリ」トモ「干」渉ガ「マ」シキ「ト」ラ「避」ケタス
ト「思」ヒ「又」出「来」ル「タ」ケ「御」援助「出」来ル「ヤ」ウニ「心」掛ケル「タ」ケ「デ」アルト「イ」フ
理由デ、私ハ「コ」ノ「ト」ラ「非」公式ニ「秘密裡」ニ「且」探索的ニ「ア」テ「サ」タ
ト「イ」フ「コ」ト「ラ」話セリ。私達、凡「帳」面ノ「態」度「及」考ヘニ「対」シ「大」
臣、ハ「中」ニ「疑」ヲ「起」サセ「ナ」イタメ、私ハ「私」ノ「話」中「コ」ノ「真」ヲ「繰」
返シテ「述」ベ「且」強調セリ。ソノカラ「私」ハ「今」デモ「今後」デモ「交」
渉ヲ「行」フタメ「日」支「兩」國「全」權ガ「會」見スル「何」等「カ」中「立」地
帶ヲ「用」意スルコトガ「我」ト「リ」役「立」ツ「ア」ラフ「コ」ト「イ」フ「コ」ト「殊」ニ
斯「カ」ル「交」渉、經過中「何」等「カ」困難「及」問題ガ「起」ラ「ト」キ「必」
ラ「ク」役「立」ツ「コ」ト「我」ト「ガ」考ヘ「テ」アル「コ」ト「ラ」話セリ

ジョセフ・C・グー (Joseph C. GREW)

外國關係一

三三九頁

三四〇頁

Ex. # 951

Doc. No. 219P (34)

Br. Ex. 53

THE JAPANESE EMBASSY TO THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

The Japanese Government wishes to express its concurrence with the principles contained in the statement made by Secretary of State Hull on the 16th instant (ultimo) concerning the maintenance of world peace. It is the belief of the Japanese Government that the objectives of those principles will only be attained, in their application to the Far Eastern situation, by a full recognition and practical consideration of the actual particular circumstances of that region.

(WASHINGTON) August 13, 1937.

Foreign Relations I, p. 342.

Er957
Doc. 219p(34)

日本大使館ヨリ國務省へ

本月(先月)十六日、ハル國務長官ニ依リニ爲サレタル世界
平和維持ニ関スル声明中ニ掲ゲラレタル若干ノ原則ニ対シ、
日本政府ハ賛意ヲ表スルモノナリ。
是等ノ原則ハ其適用ニ當リ極東ノ現實ノ特殊事情ヲ
十分ニ認識シ且實際的ナル考慮ヲ拂フ事ニ依リ
始テ其ノ目的ヲ達成シ得ルモノナルコトヲ日本政府ハ信ズ。

一九三七年八月十三日 (ワシントン)

外國關係 I

三四三頁

Doc. No. 219P (35)

Page 1

Br. Ex. 54

PRESS RELEASE ISSUED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF
STATE ON AUGUST 23, 1937

Excerpt.

The issues and problems which are of concern to this Government in the present situation in the Pacific area go far beyond merely the immediate question of protection of the nationals and interests of the United States. The conditions which prevail in that area are intimately connected with and have a direct and fundamental relationship to the general principles of policy to which attention was called in the statement of July 16, which statement has evoked expressions of approval from more than 50 governments. This Government is firmly of the opinion that the principles summarized in that statement should effectively govern international relationship.

When there unfortunately arises in any part of the world the threat or the existence of serious hostilities, the matter is of concern to all nations. Without attempting to pass judgment regarding the merits of the controversy, we appeal to the parties to refrain from resort to war. We urge that they settle their differences in accordance with principles which, in the opinion not alone of our people but of most peoples of the world should govern in international relationships. We consider applicable throughout the world, in the Pacific area as elsewhere, the principles set forth in the statement of July 16. That statement of principles is comprehensive and basic. It embraces the principles embodied in many treaties, including the Washington Conference treaties and the Kellogg-Briand Pact of Paris.

From the beginning of the present controversy in the Far East, we have been urging upon both the Chinese and the Japanese Governments the importance of refraining from hostilities and of maintaining peace. We have been participating constantly in consultation with interested governments directed toward peaceful adjustment. This Government does not believe in political alliances or entanglements, nor does it believe in extreme isolation. It does believe in international cooperation for the purpose of seeking through pacific methods the achievement of those objectives set forth in the statement of July 16. In the light of our well-defined attitude and policies, and within the range thereof, this Government is giving most solicitous attention to every phase of the Far Eastern situation, toward safeguarding the lives and welfare of our people and making effective the policies--especially the policy of peace--in which this country believes and to which it is committed.

Doc. No. 219P (35)

Page 2

This Government is endeavoring to see kept alive, strengthened, and revitalized, in reference to the Pacific area and to all the world, these fundamental principles.

Foreign Relations I, p. 355 at
356-357

△

eu 952
Doc 219 P (35)

一九三七年八月廿三日

國務省ニ依ル新聞發表

裁奪

太平洋方面、現局面ニ於テ本政府、固ニ、対象トナル問題、合衆國々民及其權益ヲ保護セトスル事ナル方面問題ヲ遠ク超越スル重大ナル問題ナリ。

同地域ニ於テル状態、五十個國以上、政府ニ依リ同意、表セタトコロ、七月十六日、聲明ニ依リ、注意ヲ喚起セシメル政策、一般原則ニ安テ關係し、且直接ニミテ根本的ナリ。國聯ヲ有セルモ、テアル、本政府、該聲明中ニ掲ゲラレクル原則、國際關係ヲ有効ニ律スベキモノナル事ヲ確信スルナリ。

不幸ニシテ世界、何レカ、部分ニ重大ナル戰鬪行為、然レ或ハ存在ヲ見ルニ至リタル場合、斯ル事項ハ凡ソニ國家ニトシテ固ニ、対象トナル紛争、真相ニ就テ、判斷ヲ企圖スル迄モナク、各当事國ニ對シテ戰争ニ訴フルコトヲ差控ヘ様要シタルモノデアリ。

我々ハ彼等ガ其、摩擦ヲ我國一國、ミテナク、全世界ヲ通シ大部、國民、見解トシテ國際關係ヲ律スルモノト見ラル、原則ニ導振ニテ解決スル事ヲ要請スル。我々ハ七月十六日聲明ニ述ベシタ原則ハ、全世界ヲ通ジテ太平洋地域ニ於テモ將又他、地域ニ於テモ齊ク適用サシ得ベキモノト固ニ信スル。是等原則ニ關スル在聲明ハ、包括的ニシテ基本的ナモノデアリ。

ソレハワシントン會議條約、Kellogg-Briand Pact、含ム多數條約中ニ體現セラレタル諸原則ヲ包含シテ

40.1

Doc 2/9P(35)

極東に於て今次紛争、当初より我々、中國、日本兩政府は對敵對行為を避けて平和を維持せん事、重要性を強調して來た。我々の平和的調停の方向に向ひて、中華國民政府ト、商議ニ常ニ参加して來た。本政府、政治的連繫或は葛藤或は又極端ナル孤立は是等、モノニ再々傾ケルモノデナイ。本政府、七月十六日、聲明中ニ示サレタリ且平等目的、達成する平和手段ニ求ムル國際的協力ニ信ヲ置カントスルモノデアル。我々、明確ナル態度及び方針を昭し且平等方針範國內ニ於て本政府、我國民、生命、福祉ヲ保護し且政策ト特ニ我國の信奉し且約束セル平和政策ト有初ナラシムベク、極東事情、アラユル局面ヲ注視シ、アルデアル。本政府、太平洋地域及び全世界に關し之等、根本原則ヲ支持し強化し、更ニ其活力ヲ回復スルニ豫備力シ、アルデアル。

外交文書 第(冊)三五五頁

三六—三五七頁

Doc. 2192 (36)

Page 1

Br. Ex. 56

THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE MINISTER IN
SWITZERLAND (HARRISON)

(Substance)

Excerpts.

WASHINGTON, September 28, 1937
10 p.m.

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It is desirable, however, inasmuch as the United States Government associates itself with the League's deliberations through authorizing the Minister to sit with the Assembly Advisory Committee and the subcommittee, that the Minister know of and understand the American Government's thought in connection with his possible contributions toward enabling his associates at Geneva to reach decisions which may have some beneficial practical effect regarding objectives which are common to the United States and to the League's members.

When Japan embarked last July upon military activities in China, the United States Government, which took full account of evidence presented at that time and during the past indicative of Japanese political objectives, on July 16 made public a statement of basic principles which it felt should underlie normal and peaceful international relationships.

Government

The United States reiterated more specifically on August 23 in a statement, with especial reference to the armed conflict between Japan and China, certain of the principles comprised in the statement of July 16, and the view was emphasized that these principles applied as well to the Pacific area as elsewhere. Attention was called, inter alia, expressly to the Kellogg-Briand Pact and the Nine-Power Treaty. Exception was thus definitely taken to the course followed by Japan.

Moreover, several definite steps have been taken in support of the American position: (1) Direct appeals to Japan and China to desist or refrain from hostilities; (2) repeated statements to both sides regarding the availability to them of good offices should they make any suggestions for resort to conciliation processes; (3) repeated protests to the Japanese Government against aerial bombing of noncombatants and publication in one instance of an American note to the Japanese Government in objection to and condemnation of such bombing and in another instance issuance of a statement today on that subject.

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Japan's military operations have increased in intensity and in extent with the unfolding situation. Charges of Japan's violation of treaty provisions and international law have been amplified by the Chinese Government, and a willingness to resort to conciliation processes has been affirmed by the Chinese. The Japanese have announced, however, their intention to destroy the Chinese will and capacity to resist and actually to overthrow the existing Chinese Government. By declining the League Assembly Advisory Committee's invitation, the Japanese have refused even to consult with other governments with a view to adjusting their difficulties with China.

The Secretary expresses the feeling that the Sino-Japanese situation definitely concerns the world as a whole. No longer do the questions involved relate merely to specific provisions of particular treaties being violated; they are questions of international law, of principles of humanity, of war and peace. Naturally it is true that the questions involve violating agreements, particularly the League of Nations Covenant, the Nine-Power Treaty, and the Kellogg-Briand Pact. But problems of world economy, world humanity, and world security also are involved.

HULL

Foreign Relations I, pp. 375-377

Doc-219P(36)

4953

NO. 1

國務長官ヨ瑞西駐刺公使ハリスン・ハミソン

要旨

沿革 ワシントンニテ一九三七一年／昭和十二年／九月二十八日

午後十時

併ニ米國政府ハ其使節總會顧問委員會及ニ小委員會ニ出席セラル事ニ依リ夫自身聯盟討議ニ参加スルモノトシ其使節が壽府ニ於テ彼等與ニ米國ト聯盟加盟諸國ニ共通ナル若干目的ニ關シ何等カ有用ナル實際的結果ヲ齎シ得ベキ若干決定到達スルヲ得ルヲ、彼等可能ナル貢獻ニ關シ米國政府、意圖ヲ知リ之ヲ諒解シ置ク事ヲ所ナリ。去ル七月日本、中國ニ於テ軍事行動ヲ開始スルヤ米國政府、當時過去ニ於テ日本、政略的展開期間ヲ通シ興ニタル證據ヲ徹底的ニ吟味シ七月十六日正當且平和的國際關係、根柢ヲ成ヌモノ看ル基礎的の原則ニ關スル聲明ニ公表ス。米國政府、八月二十日、聲明中ニ日本ト中國間、武力衝突ニ時ニ言及シ七月十六日、聲明中ニ含シ居ル原則、一部ヲ更ニ逐條的ニ反覆シ而シテ此等、原則ガ他、地域ニ對スルト同様太平洋地域ニモ適用ニ得ト、其見解ヲ強調セリ。

就中明確ニケロッグ・ブリアンド條約及ニ九國條約ニ就テ注意ヲ促スル次第ナリ。斯クシテ日本、執リシ行動ニ對シ確然異議ヲ表明セリ更ニ米國、立場ヲ擁護スルタメ數種、具體的手段ヲ執リ即チ

- (1) 戦争ヲ中止若シハ抑制スル様直接日本ト中國ニ對シ要請。
- (2) 若シ日本ト中國ガ和解、方法ヲ採ル事ニ就テ何等カ、提案ヲテ米國場合、米國、斡旋ヲ彼等ガ利用ニ得ル事ニ就テ、双方ニ對シ之ヲ復聲明。
- (3) 非戰闘員爆撃ニ關シ日本政府ニ對シ之ヲ復抗議及ニ斯ク、如キ爆撃

Doc-2197(36)

對之ヲ又對非難セル稟、覺書公表。更ニ同問題ニ關スル本日、聲明書發表。

當面、時局ニ關聯シ日本、作戰ハ益々強烈、度々加ヘ其範圍ヲ擴大シテ條約、諸條項ト國際法ニ對スル日本、侵犯ヲ非難スル中國政府、主張ハ高調ガシ和解、方法ニ許セントスル意圖ハ支那側ニヨリ肯定セラルリ。然レ日本側ハ中國側抗戰意欲ト能力ヲ破壞直ニ現在、中國政府ヲ現實ニ打倒セントスル欲等、意圖ヲ聲明アリ。聯盟總會顧問委員會、招請ラザル日本側ハ支那ト紛争ヲ解決スル爲他諸外國政府ト協議スル事ヲ拒絕セリ。本官ハ今次、日支時局ハ明ニ全世界ガ憂慮スル問題トト思考ニモナリ。此、問題ハ最早特殊條約、或ハ特定條項、章ヲ侵犯問題ニテ其ハ國際法問題ナリ。人道原則ニ關スル問題戰爭及平和問題ナリ。自然此問題ハ條約、侵犯特ニ國際聯盟規約、九國條約及ケルマンタイン條約、~~或ハ~~ KELLOGG-BRIAND Pact、侵犯ヲ包含スル事實ナリ。然レ世界經濟、世界、人道、世界、安全等、問題モ又含ミル所ナリ。

ハル、HULL
外交關係(二七五—二七七頁)